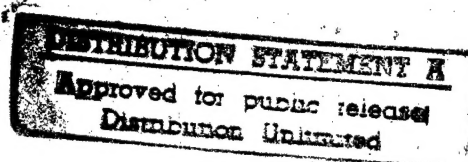


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No. 6, June 1983

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language monthly journal MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA published in Moscow by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES IN 'MEMO' JOURNAL

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 6,
Jun 83 pp 158-159

[Text] Yu. Alimov in the article "The Important Factor in World Politics" dwells upon the activities of such anti-military, anti-colonial force, as the movement of non-alignment in the light of the results of the 7th Conference Of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries. Having analyzed the standpoint of non-aligned countries on the problem of peace, security and detente the author points out the way such key issues as economic development, independence, disarmament and above all nuclear disarmament are closely interrelated. The author examines the final documents of the Summit: the political and economic declarations, the New Delhi Message and some other documents which not only reflect the hopes of two-thirds of the world's population, but also meet humanity's desire for peace and equitable cooperation between states. The political declaration specifically states that the purpose of the non-aligned policy has always been to fight against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, all forms of foreign aggression, discrimination and relations of dominance and exploitation. The document discusses crucial problems of the world. It points out that the pivotal issue confronting humanity in the nuclear age is that of survival, international peace and security. The economic declaration states that the existing economic relations in the world capitalist system make it impossible to abolish in the developing countries poverty, hunger and other social evils born of decades of foreign domination and exploitation. The document reiterates the need for early establishment of a new international economic order and sets forth proposals to achieve this goal. Imperialist forces try to launch a counter-offensive against forces of national and social liberation. But neither a variety of tactical moves nor propaganda tricks can conceal from the non-aligned countries the constant threat engendered by world capitalism.

G. Vorontsov's article "In the Vanguard of the Struggle for Security and Detente in Europe" examines the Soviet consistent and constructive initiatives and programs on European security in certain historic periods. It is explained why the Soviet Union ever since its emergence has focused attention on European affairs. The author stresses how the USSR stage by stage had persistently and successively pursued its policy of counteracting aggression and maintaining peace in Europe. Hence it is perfectly logical why the first

shoots of detente appeared and developed stronger here in Europe under the influence of the attractiveness of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. In the late 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's they led to qualitative changes in relations between the two systems, signifying international detente, particularly in Europe. The author points to two approaches on the problem of European security, that of American imperialist and West-European reactionary circles who aim at dismantling relations with the socialist world and that of the Soviet Union and other socialist states which have come forward with a constructive program on European security acceptable to the whole continent. Being a European power the USSR cannot be indifferent to the fate of this continent.

Yu. Fedorov in the article "USA Faces Global Problems: Recommendations of Scientists and Realities of Policy" considers the report to the President of the USA prepared by a large group of American scientists. Their conclusions are compared by the author with the present-day U.S. policy on the international arena. The article states that the main recommendation of the American scientists is to deepen and broaden international cooperation with the aim of solving the ever more acute global problems. This appeal has not found its reflection in Washington's foreign policy. Moreover, today's American policy aimed at the attainment of military supremacy over the countries of the socialist camp and interference in the internal affairs of the developing countries constitutes one of the main obstacles in the way of the solution of the present-day global realities.

The target oriented employment of scientific and technological achievements contributed essentially to the postwar economic advance of Japan. Yu. Stolyarov and S. Ul'yanichev in the article "Scientific and Technological Strategy of Japan" examine the guidelines of science and technology in Japan for the 1980's considering the present-day level of their progress.

The actual science indicators in Japan give evidence to the fact that this country succeeded in closing the technological gap with the leading imperialist states in some high technology domains owing to the massive purchases of foreign technology in the 1960's and early 1970's and also internal R&D supported heavily by the state.

The structural and cyclical crises of the 1970's in the world capitalist economy led to the serious revision of the guideposts of science and technology towards greater emphasis on the in-country R&D alongside with the wider collaboration and cooperation with foreign firms and states in the technologies of future. Under such conditions the bourgeois state is to play a significant role providing for the financing of the costly basic research, organizing the inter-firm cooperation, promoting the information infrastructure.

The authors dwell upon the national priorities of R&D in Japan for the 1980's including ambitious programmes of nuclear energy "Sunshine", genetic engineering programme "Moonlight" and also oceanic research developments concerning the industry prospects in the outer space, etc.

The realization of the Japanese national R&D programmes will encounter considerable difficulties under the constant recession of the world capitalist economy and bring about new antagonisms in the interimperialist competition.

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NONALIGNED DELHI SUMMIT, MOVEMENT'S ROLE IN WORLD DISCUSSED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENiya in Russian No 6,
Jun 83 pp 4-21

[Article by Yu. Alimov: "Important Factor of World Politics"]

[Text] The exacerbation of the international situation, which took place at the beginning of the eighties and was generated by another outburst of the hegemonist and imperial ambitions of the United States, caused all the countries to be seriously concerned about the world destiny and civilization on earth. The increased danger of an outbreak of nuclear war lends particular topicality to the question of the correlation of forces in the world arena and the political possibilities of preventing the catastrophe threatening the world. Of course, due to the existing balance of forces in the world, both the present situation and the prospects of its development are determined not only by the state and tendencies of relations between the USSR and USA. Life proves that the solution of a number of major international problems is impossible without the participation of other states and it is often precisely on these other states that this solution depends to a great extent.

This also applies to the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America not only because they make up the most numerous group comprising two-thirds of all the world states, but also because, for example, it is precisely in their zone that imperialism and local reaction provoke and kindle dangerous conflicts whose influence goes far beyond the confines of this zone, thus exacerbating even further the international relations, which are already tense. Therefore, peace and security on our planet are simply unattainable without the active participation of these countries.

At present it is generally acknowledged that the liberated states, the majority of which are united in the nonaligned movement, represent an important factor of world politics. This is why the regular conference summit of nonaligned countries which took place in Delhi (India) in early March this year is regarded everywhere in the world as one of the most important events of the year. The conference attracted general attention by the fact alone that there were heads of state and government from no fewer than 97 independent countries (50 from Africa, 27 from Asia, 16 from Latin America, 3 from Europe and 1 from Oceania) and leaders of two national liberation organizations--PLO and SWAPO--taking part in it. Besides, 7 states, 3 national liberation and 5 international organizations were present as observers, and 10 states and 16

international organizations were present as guests.

At the present sharp turn in history when the question of the existence of the very life on earth has been raised under the conditions of a sharply exacerbated clash between the forces of peace and those of aggression, such a broad international forum and its decisions cannot fail to influence the distribution and correlation of the above-mentioned forces.

I

Having emerged in the early sixties as a result of the successful development of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries and as a reaction on the part of the young independent states to the attempts of the imperialist powers to draw them into aggressive military blocs, the nonaligned movement subsequently actively participated in developing the process of relaxing international tension. However, at the beginning of the eighties the movement found itself in a situation to a great extent similar to that in which it emerged, namely a period of "cold war," in particular in the second half of the sixties when the formation of the movement was slowed down and it was unable to hold a single summit meeting.

The following question seems logical: How did this sharp change in the international political climate affect the nonaligned movement and its role and prestige in the world? We think that answering this question, while taking into account the new phenomena, will help in objectively evaluating both the Delhi summit and the entire activity of the movement under the complicated international conditions.

First of all the fact alone of convoking and successfully completing the seventh conference of the heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries in Delhi deserves attention. It is known that India is the homeland of the nonaligned movement as a policy. Even in 1946-1947 Jawahar Lal Nehru, the leader of the national liberation struggle of the people of this country introduced the concept of nonalignment, and the Republic of India became the first state to base its foreign policy on this concept. Following India's example many other liberated countries followed the path envisaged by Nehru until finally the nonaligned movement was formed. This happened at the 1961 Belgrade conference which was convoked at the initiative of India, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, and Ghana and directly organized by Yugoslavia, Egypt, India, Indonesia, and Afghanistan.

At present as the international group of nonaligned states enters the third decade of its existence and in accordance with its unanimous wish, the highest forum of the movement was held in Delhi and for the first time the Republic of India was elected chairman of the movement. Undoubtedly, it is not accidental that at such a critical time the nonaligned countries entrusted India with the right to coordinate the activity of the movement during a three year period. Through its well-thought out, peaceful, and freedom-loving policy this biggest nonaligned state has won great international authority. The other member countries who regard nonalignment as a means of securing peaceful coexistence, independence, and development expect India

to be able to lead their entire association along this path, contributing to the relaxation of tension and the solution of the accumulated problems. It must be said that this mission is at the same time very honorable and very difficult, particularly under the present conditions.

There are, however, weighty grounds for the conviction that India will successfully accomplish the mission with which it has been entrusted.

Despite all the trials and difficulties which faced the nonaligned movement in the late seventies as a result of the exacerbated international tension, it demonstrated great vitality and even enhanced its activeness in the world arena. Neither the neocolonialist pressure on the part of the United States and its NATO allies nor the visible disruptions in the cooperation between the liberated countries succeeded in paralyzing its activity. Even the war between Iran and Iraq only delayed for 6 months but failed to wreck the regular nonaligned summit. During this period the republic of Cuba played a substantial role in maintaining the political dynamism of the movement since it had coordinated its activity since the Havana summit.

The fact that during the seventies, that is, under the conditions of detente, the nonaligned movement was consolidated and gained a substantial reserve of strength seems to have had its effect. The number of participants in the movement has almost doubled and each one of the main regions represented in the movement has manifested its interest in convoking the highest forum of the movement on its own territory. During the last decade the nonaligned summit meetings have taken place in tropical Africa (Lusaka 1970), in the Arab World (Algiers, 1973), in Southern Asia (Colombo, 1976) and in Latin America (Havana, 1979). The established regularity of the summit meetings and the transition to the practice of convoking additional conferences of foreign ministers as well as the establishment and active work of the Coordination Bureau allowed the international association of nonaligned countries to constantly feel the pulse of events and occupy a strong place among influential forces in world politics.

Thus, although the nonaligned movement has not become an international organization (it has no statute, permanent leading organs, secretariat, budget, or membership fees) its structure has clearly been perfected and consolidated and its effectiveness has on the whole been enhanced. Undoubtedly, the convocation of the seventh conference of nonaligned countries is proof of the enhanced--compared to the situation in the sixties--possibilities for a better organized mechanism of the movement.

Holding the Delhi conference in the present exacerbated situation is also evidence of the fact that the objective necessity for continuing the uninterrupted activity of the movement and its international prestige have also substantially grown. Unlike in the past, at present the interest of the liberated states in uniting within the framework of the nonaligned movement has become greater. Not a single member country has followed the example of Burma by leaving its ranks. On the contrary, after the Havana conference its ranks grew after six more countries joined the movement as full and equal members.

It is significant that in recent times the inclination of the Latin American countries to participate in the nonaligned movement has also strengthened. These countries are quite clearly looking for possibilities to "separate" themselves from the United States and put an end to their economic and political dependence on Washington. In 1982 this tendency was intensified under the influence of the Anglo-Argentine conflict over the Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas) in the course of which the U.S. imperialists, as is known, gave priority to their alliance with England within the framework of the aggressive NATO bloc over their obligations to Argentina and other Latin American countries within the framework of the OAS and the "Rio de Janeiro" Treaty of 1947 on mutual assistance. As a result Latin America, which has for a long time faced the choice between maintaining its orientation toward Washington and "distancing" itself from it, is inclining more and more to the policy of nonalignment.

There is one other new aspect. After the ranks of the nonaligned movement were joined by three European countries, the majority of Asian and Latin American states and all the Liberated African countries, the movement has for the first time expanded to encompass Oceania. The young states of this region, recently liberated from the colonial regimes, are also looking for a possibility to consolidate their international positions by joining the nonaligned countries. The "first sign" was given by the Republic of Vanuatu (New Hebrides in the Pacific Ocean which had previously been jointly owned by England and France) which gained independence in 1980. On its request the republic was made a full and equal member at the Delhi conference. Some other young states in Oceania are also preparing to join the group of nonaligned countries.

Thus, at present the movement already encompasses 101 full and equal members--a fact which consolidates its transformation into one of the largest international associations. What is more, there is a continuing tendency to expand its membership.

One of the new aspects of the nonaligned movement is the fact that it is drawing closer to the course of the neutral countries. In some aspects of international relations, such as the active struggle for peace, security, detente, for an end to the arms race and for disarmament, the traditional difference between neutrality and nonalignment becomes increasingly obliterated due to the fact that the neutral states have renounced their passive stand on these questions. The above-mentioned process is concretely manifested in the active cooperation between the neutral and nonaligned countries in the world arena.

Together with the European participants in the nonaligned movement (Yugoslavia, Malta, and Cyprus) the neutral countries of Europe (Austria, Leichtenstein, San Marino, Switzerland, Sweden, and Finland) have united in a special group which holds meetings and takes a joint stand on for example, the problems of European security. In particular the group of neutral and nonaligned European countries plays a very positive role at the Madrid conference of states--participants in the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe--a fact which was mentioned in the political Declaration of the Delhi conference.

In the seventies neutral countries such as Austria, San Marino, Finland, Sweden, and Switzerland received guest status in the nonaligned movement and since then their representatives have constantly been present at its forums. Explaining this fact, the government of Switzerland--a country which, as is commonly known, is not even a member of the United Nations--stated in March this year that although the terms "neutral" and "nonaligned" are not synonymous they coincide in certain respects, and that it is in the interests of Switzerland to participate in the forums of the nonaligned movement "where the vast majority of the international community is represented and the chief political and economic problems of the present are discussed."

What is more, despite some antiquated views, life had demonstrated that it is possible to combine the status of neutrality with that of nonalignment in the international law position of one and the same state. The case under consideration is that nonaligned Malta is also declared a neutral country. In a special declaration Malta's Government stated that Malta "is a neutral state which, while adhering to the policy of nonalignment and renouncing participation in any military blocs, actively strives for international security and social progress." In September 1980 the neutral and nonaligned status of Malta was guaranteed by Italy; in February 1981 it was recognized and supported by the conference of foreign ministers of the participants in the nonaligned movement in Delhi; in October 1981--by the Soviet Union; and in December 1981 it was France that "promised to respect" it. The merging of neutrality and nonalignment in the international law position of Malta has thus become an established and generally recognized fact. The highest forum of the nonaligned movement in Delhi regarded the new state of this state as an "effective means of relaxing tension and consolidating security in the Mediterranean region, a means that can be developed further."

The Political Declaration of the Delhi conference notes that under the conditions of exacerbated tension, the growing international authority of the nonaligned movement has led to "the enhanced attention and interest displayed in the movement by the peoples, parties, and organizations of those countries which do not participate in the movement." This is characteristic of the West European and other--both bloc member and nonbloc member--states of the capitalist world.

In some NATO countries similar public feelings are concentrated on the question of participation or nonparticipation in this pact, the liquidation of U.S. military bases and the simultaneous disbanding of the North Atlantic bloc and the Warsaw Pact. Thus, in June 1982 the Communist Party of Belgium published a document in which it came out in favor of a Belgian foreign policy "that would gradually orient itself toward nonalignment." The influence of certain nonalignment ideas makes itself felt in the policy of the socialists in Greece and other European states and the new democratic party of Canada. In Australia the national conference of peace supporters, which took place in May 1982, adopted a declaration which appealed to the government to withdraw from the military ANZUS bloc which draws Australia into the orbit of the U.S. nuclear strategy and pursue a policy of nonalignment in the world arena. The Communist Party of Japan has been struggling for many years for "Japan's nonalignment to any blocs and for neutrality." A national committee was created in this country and it is struggling for a complete ban on

nuclear weapons, annulling the military alliance with the United States and establishing a peaceful, neutral and nonaligned democratic Japan.

II

How can the growing prestige of the policy and movement of nonalignment be explained?

One of the reasons is the recognition of the fact that under the present conditions the policy of nonalignment is a positive factor in the struggle for the relaxation of international tension and for peaceful coexistence. The policy of nonalignment gives rise to hopes to preserve peace and, to cite the Political Declaration of the Delhi conference, "To create a new world order based on respect for independence, equality, and cooperation" which presupposes a radical transformation not only of the economic but also of the political international relations. The declaration emphasizes that great significance is ascribed to the fact that "the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, and all forms of foreign intervention, interference, aggression, occupation, domination, and hegemony as well as the total renunciation of the participation in blocs and confrontations between them continue to be the main elements of the nonaligned policy."

Another reason for the growing international authority of the nonaligned movement lies in the universal recognition of the fact that the union of nonaligned countries is an inalienable part of the structure and dynamics of contemporary international relations. In this connection the Political Declaration of the Delhi conference notes: "The nonaligned movement is an important dynamic force at the contemporary historical stage. It stimulates the efforts to transform the structure of international relations while striving to liquidate imperialist and colonial domination and exploitation and establish a just international order based on independence, equality, justice, cooperation and development."

Under conditions when the threat of the outbreak of a nuclear war is exacerbated, the recognition of the fact that the movement of nonaligned countries is a major antiwar and anti-militarist force becomes particularly significant. The well-grounded and growing concern for the fate of peace and security which has now encompassed the countries and peoples on all continents impels them to look for support in uniting all peace-loving forces. The nonaligned movement also occupies a prominent place among those. Quite understandable is the great attention devoted to the questions of war and peace by the Havana conference of the heads of state and government of nonaligned countries in 1979. The further exacerbation of the international relations impelled the conference of foreign ministers of the countries participating in the movement, which took place in 1981, to appeal to all the countries and peoples to "make serious efforts to prevent war and consolidate peace and security on earth."

As for the liberated countries themselves--which clearly realize what the further exacerbation of tension, the arms race and the outbreak of a nuclear war would bring for them--they regard the nonaligned movement as a very

important means of mobilizing their efforts to defend universal peace and their own security and as an instrument for implementing their complete sovereignty in political and economic affairs. In his speech at the Delhi conference, Fidel Castro stated: "For us, members of the nonaligned movement, the struggle against war is not only a move against general annihilation but also a move in defense of our own immediate political interests. There is another no less valid reason... We are all convinced that without peace economic development is impossible just as peace is impossible without economic development."

The nonaligned countries which have literally suffered for this understanding of the connection between peace and development stated it probably more clearly than ever before at the Delhi forum, both in the speeches at the rostrum and in the final documents of the conference. In the present tense situation the understanding of this connection has become one of the most important factors influencing the nonaligned policy. Its explanation not only lies in the mortal danger which the young states would be subjected to in case of a nuclear conflict and not only in the negative socioeconomic consequences of the arms race which has now expanded to encompass many developing countries as well and not only in the direct military threats which imperialism makes against nonaligned states, but also in the extremely tense and critical state of their economy.

Fidel Castro's book "The World Economic and Social Crisis," which was distributed as his report at the seventh conference, emphasizes that "(liberated countries--Yu.A.) usually paid a higher price than others for a situation which they had not created when they were drawn into the crisis which started in the developed capitalist countries."* In its economic declaration the conference pointed out that in recent years the foreign debt of the developing countries had grown enormously and by the end of 1982 had reached \$54 billion, that since 1980 there has been no economic growth whatsoever in all 36 of the least developed countries and that the conditions of trade between the young states and the West, unequal as it is, have deteriorated even further.

Undoubtedly, the way out of this situation can only be found if peace is preserved and nuclear war prevented. Indira Gandhi said at the conference that if there is no peace then "all our dreams of development will turn to dust." She emphasized further that "independence, development, disarmament, and peace are inseparable."**

The exacerbation of the international tension has increasingly begun to affect the interests of the liberated states in their struggle to liquidate the remaining hotbeds of colonialism. At present in southern Africa, for example, their support of the national liberation organizations directly merges with their struggle to consolidate their own independence and security. The assistance to the liberation of Namibia and the liquidation of the apartheid

* F. Castro, "The World Economic and Social Crisis. Report of the seventh Summit Conference of Nonaligned countries", Havana, 1983.

** "Address of the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi", New Delhi, March 7, 1983.

system in the Republic of South Africa is increasingly intertwined with the struggle against the occupation of part of the free Angolan territory by the troops of Pretoria's racist regime and its aggressive and diversionist activity in the other "frontline" African states. Besides, the more the Republic of South Africa arms itself, including with nuclear arms, and consolidates its "constructive cooperation" with the United States, other Western powers, and Israel, the more aggressive the racists become. The Republic of South Africa is becoming a powerful bridgehead of neocolonialism on the African Continent and a major hotbed of the danger of war in the Southern Hemisphere.

The inevitable merging of anticolonial actions with the antiwar and antimilitarist struggle of the nonaligned and other peace-loving countries is also taking place when solving the tasks of liquidating the "fragments" of colonial empires which various parent states and "trustees" overtly appropriate, calling them "overseas departments" or according them "special status." Such is the policy of the United States with regard to Puerto Rico and Micronesia and that of France, England, and a number of other states with regard to certain territories in the world oceans.

What this policy is fraught with was demonstrated by the events of 1982 around the Falkland (Las Malvinas) Islands when England defended its "right of ownership" by force, displaying more zeal than it had in the past when trying to hold larger possessions. Apart from other things this situation also revealed Washington's badly concealed interest in preserving England's "right." What is the reason for this? If we recall that the existing English possessions in the Indian (Diego Garcia) and Atlantic Ocean (Ascension and Bermuda Islands) were in fact long ago given to the United States to serve as military bases, then it is not difficult to assume that in the given case as well a similar agreement is in the making between Washington and London and one which is much more difficult to oppose. Meanwhile, it is known that it is precisely the small islands which are utilized by the Pentagon for testing nuclear weapons (Bikini, Eniwetak and Kwajalein in Micronesia) or nuclear arsenals (Diego Garcia). Therefore, the liberation of small islands is nowadays increasingly tied to the struggle against imperialism and primarily U.S. imperialism and to putting an end to the arms race and preserving peace.

What conclusion can be drawn from what has been said above? It is apparent that the exacerbation of international tension, the growing threat of an outbreak of nuclear war, the worsening economic situation of the developing countries, and the intensified pressure exerted on them by the neocolonialists have far from suppressed but rather even more stimulated the nonaligned movement to activate its struggle for peace and development. At the same time, under the more complicated conditions, all the main directions of its activity merge together in the main channel of the struggle to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and secure peaceful coexistence on our planet, a struggle which is anti-imperialist in nature.

II

The worsening political climate in the world caused an intensified struggle both around the nonaligned movement and inside it. Even at the far reaches

of the seventh conference of nonaligned countries the West and primarily the most reactionary U.S. circles started to apply a wide variety of means--from threatening to use force to making all sorts of promises--in order to influence its decisions. In observing their policy concerning both the socialist and the nonaligned countries it is impossible not to see that the biggest diehards among the imperialists are looking for war and striving for war as a means of stopping the progressive changes taking place in the world. It becomes more and more obvious that the "crusade" against the USSR and other socialist countries proclaimed by the U.S. president is at the same time a "crusade" against all the progressive forces and tendencies in the world and against the further development of the national liberation movement. In recent years, having gotten rid of the "Vietnamese syndrome," the Washington strategists have again taken a course toward using force in the national liberation area. Today apart from Cuba and Vietnam, it is the Latin American countries and the countries of the Caribbean as well as Libya and some other nonaligned countries that have become the object of their threats. This year having formed the so-called central command--Centkom--the Pentagon is openly "shaking its fist" at 19 independent states in the region of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Its interventionist "Rapid Deployment Forces" are hurriedly preparing themselves for punitive operations against the peoples of the oil-producing and other countries in the zones which the United States has unjustifiably declared "vital" for itself. Washington openly encourages the use of force on the part of England, Israel, South Africa and plays off one developing country against another.

At the same time the economic pressure on the developing countries has increased. The West hopes that the difficult economic situation of the young states and their growing financial and technological dependence on the imperialist powers and the international monopolies will force these countries to reduce their zeal in the struggle against neocolonialism and that they will "become tame" and stop resisting the aggressive and hegemonist policy pursued by the warmongers in Washington. The West considers the economic and financial levers to be the most reliable in influencing nonaligned policy. Long before Delhi, the imperialist powers, transnational corporations and the international financial institutions controlled by them (IMF, IBRD, and others) started to widely apply these levers counting upon forcing the nonaligned movement into submission with the help of the financial "noose" and "the bony clutch of hunger." In this connection every manifestation of "obstinacy" on the part of this or that developing country results in the threat of applying corresponding sanctions against it, as is the case during voting in the United Nations, for example. The United States is particularly diligent in this respect. Its UN representative, J. Kirkpatrick, quite unceremoniously "reprimands" and "penalizes" the liberated countries.

What is more, in recent years the West and the NATO countries have spared no efforts in their attempts to use the nonaligned movement as a kind of reserve against the USSR and socialism as a whole. In this connection particular attention is devoted to the propaganda and implementation of the so-called genuine or pure nonalignment in the practical policy of the nonaligned countries as a new version of the old concept of "equidistance from the blocs."

It is well known that even in the early sixties the United States began to declare "genuinely nonaligned" only those countries which chose the capitalist way of development and pursued a pro-Western foreign policy course. On the other hand, everything possible was done to "excommunicate" from nonalignment those liberated states which had chosen the socialist orientation, taken consistently anti-imperialist positions and taken the course toward comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The policy of Cuba was subjected to particularly bitter attacks and the anti-Cuban campaign was sharply exacerbated after Fidel Castro was elected chairman of the nonaligned movement at the Havana conference of 1979. As the opening day of the new conference of the nonaligned countries drew closer, the West began to advertise ever more importantly the advantages of keeping "equidistance." In December 1982 the Brussels session of the NATO council came out in open support of "genuine nonalignment." The U.S. diplomatic and propaganda machine was particularly active in this respect, banking on the sociopolitical diversity of the nonaligned movement.

Which philosophy forms the foundation of the concept of "equidistance" and what does it look like in practice?

First of all, it is precisely from this concept that statements are derived asserting that nonalignment is incompatible with the recognition of one of the blocs as a natural ally and the other as a natural opponent of the nonaligned countries. Another example is the claim that the principles of nonalignment must be equally applied in evaluating the actions of either bloc and either "superpower", while both blocs are accused to the same degree of striving for hegemony and expanding their influence in the world, and the "rivalry between the superpowers" is declared to be the main reason for the worsened political climate in the world.

Of course, it is impossible not to take into account the fact that the powerful and comprehensive pressure exerted by the West has a certain influence on the policy of a number of nonaligned states. Multiplied by their objective economic difficulties under the conditions of the exacerbated international tension it increases the amplitude of vacillations inherent in nonalignment. As if tired of the many years of confrontation with imperialism and afraid of its military and economic power and its interference in internal affairs and other encroachments upon their sovereignty, some nonaligned countries have begun to search for the possibility of solving their problems by making political concessions to the West. Besides, in their policy there is also an element of playing on the contradictions existing in international life and balancing between the forces in the world. As a result the concept of "genuine nonalignment" of "equidistance" has started to penetrate the nonaligned movement. "Equidistant" evaluations were also found, interspersed with certain formulations, in the documents of the seventh conference.

Nevertheless the literal interpretation of "equidistance" does not exist in practice, an interpretation of "equidistance" as a stable neutral position equally removed from the "world power poles" on all international questions, as a permanent status programmed for total passivity vis-a-vis either bloc or for simultaneous confrontation with them. More widespread is the term

"genuine nonalignment," which means the striving for absolute "freedom of action" in world politics and for an equal approach to evaluating the positions and actions of blocs and great powers.

Of course, the striving for total independence on the part of the nonaligned countries is quite understandable. It is a legitimate consequence of the national liberation struggle and it reflects the objective necessity for consolidating the political independence of the young states. From this point of view the idea of "genuine nonalignment" or "equidistance" would have some justification if at the same time it took into consideration objective reality, the lessons taught by life and the genuine interests of the liberated states. However, this is precisely the "Achilles' heel" of the entire philosophy of "equidistance." In their time K. Marx and F. Engels noted that any "'idea' inevitably disgraced itself as soon as it was divorced from the concept 'interest'."* Something similar is now happening to the idea of "equidistance." Why?

For the simple reason that the practice of the blocs and superpowers, from whom the nonaligned movement should maintain "equidistance," is different. In many concrete questions the imperialists behave in one way, whereas the socialist community behaves differently, and in the one case this contradicts the interests of the nonaligned countries, whereas in the other it is in keeping with their interests. To quote a well-known Latin proverb, even "when two people do one and the same thing, it is no longer the same thing" (*si duo faciunt idem, non est idem*). How then can the same approach be taken to them?

In their "rivalry in the world arena" which both blocs and "superpowers" are accused of to the same degree, their goals and actions clearly differ. The USSR does not seek a military confirmation either with the United States or with any other state, it does not need any foreign territories or resources. To solve its great creative tasks and fully master its own territory it only needs peace and security. However, even if the competition between the two social systems and their ideological and political clash were termed "rivalry," the question still arises whether it would correspond to the interests of the nonaligned countries if the USSR put an end to this "rivalry." Would the nonaligned countries like to be left to face world imperialism and the neocolonialists on their own? Apparently not. It is no accident that it is precisely in the Soviet Union and the socialist community that many of these countries are looking for protection and support in their political and economic clash with world imperialism. How can the Soviet people defend peace, their socialist gains and the security of their country, how can they help the peoples of the nonaligned states without strengthening the defense potential of the USSR and without engaging in a fight ("rivalry") with imperialism? Indeed, imperialism is far from prepared to renounce its hegemonistic impulses and, what is more, it is becoming increasingly aggressive.

The concept of "equidistance" does not and cannot provide an answer to this question because it is at odds with the reality of life, the objective processes taking place in international relations, and the basic interests of the nonaligned countries themselves. The entire history of nonalignment

demonstrates that "equidistance" in theory cannot be "equidistance" in practice, and life itself leaves no room for an "equal attitude" to the opposing and conflicting world systems. In evaluating very important political and economic problems and conflict situations and in making their concrete demands, the nonaligned countries as a rule do not take some sort of "equidistance" but rather clearly anti-imperialist positions. Their interest in securing peace, defending freedom, and consolidating their political and achieving their economic independence inevitably places these countries in opposition to the West and objectively brings them closer to the world of socialism. This is manifested particularly clearly during the session of the UN General Assembly where, more often than not, in the course of adopting concrete resolutions the majority of the nonaligned countries votes together with the socialist and against the imperialist states.

The fact that the concept of "equidistance" is unreal and divorced from life is also proved by the experience of those countries which have declared themselves "genuinely nonaligned" and are now trying to stand by this concept. Implemented in politics it sometimes looks like striving to "balance out" their anti-imperialist stand in some decisions by introducing camouflaged anti-Sovietism in others. Some people try to counterpose the philosophy and policy of nonalignment to the course of the socialist community, diligently looking for a difference in positions even in these places, where this difference is essentially absent.

It is significant that it is first and foremost those who have entered a secret "marriage of convenience" with the West that are among the adherents of "genuine nonalignment." As Fidel Castro noted in his speech at the Delhi conference, "the United States succeeds in reaching agreements on the construction of new military bases in those countries which, due to their ties with our movement, should have refused to concede their territories for this purpose." Such "equidistance" can only further the neocolonialist plans aimed against the young states. It is not accidental that the imperialist powers praise "genuine nonalignment" together and separately and push the nonaligned countries to adopt this course. In this connection the golden rule of politics comes to mind: If your opponent praises you think of what bad mistake you have made that is to his advantage and to your own disadvantage. Whatever name is given to it, slipping from anti-imperialist positions to "equidistance" is primarily advantageous for imperialism and not for the nonaligned movement. It is not without reason that official circles in the United States and other Western countries so passionately advertised it before the Delhi conference and discredited the anti-imperialist decisions of the Havana conference.

However, all their efforts were in vain. The seventh nonaligned conference once again confirmed that the anti-imperialist nature of nonalignment does not depend on the place where the current highest forum of the nonaligned countries takes place--be it in Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers, Colombo, Havana, or Delhi. Anti-U.S. and anti-imperialist decisions are taken by these countries even in New York when their Coordination Bureau meets there. In this respect there objectively exists great continuity between the forums of the nonaligned countries because anti-imperialism is inherent in the national liberation movement.

It is not some outsider but the basic interests of the nonaligned countries themselves which push them onto the path of struggling against neocolonialism, all the more so since life itself provides hourly proof of the fact that the West and primarily the United States opposes the striving of the people in the liberated countries to put an end to dependence and exploitation. It is no one but Washington itself that draws fire with its actions which exacerbate the international situation and worsen the position of the nonaligned countries. In this connection, M. Minic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee noted, not without reason, in February 1981: "The policy of the Reagan administration provides serious grounds and creates favorable conditions for this." If life forces the developing countries to solve the problems of survival, decolonization of their economy, information, and international economic relations, then who should they fight against if not the American and other neocolonialists?

As expected the Delhi conference concentrated its attention on the problems that are most topical for the nonaligned movement--on the problems of war and peace, complete and comprehensive decolonization and strengthening of the solidarity of the nonaligned countries. It adopted a Political Declaration, an Economic Declaration, a special Delhi address to all countries and peoples, a declaration of collective self-reliance of the nonaligned and other developing countries, a program of actions regarding economic cooperation, and other documents. The adoption of these documents once again demonstrated that despite the existing differences of opinion on separate issues which reflect the ideological diversity of the movement and the processes of differentiation in the developing world, the participants in the highest nonaligned forums can find a common language regarding the majority of main problems.

The main idea in all the declarations and resolutions is the serious concern of the nonaligned states about the development of extremely dangerous tendencies in international relations, the whipping up of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and the threat of an outbreak of a nuclear war as well as the difficult economic situation of the young states. In this context the conference, was not content to list the facts but quite clearly defined its position in assessing these facts, and it proposed a whole series of possible--in its opinion--solutions which are not confined to the zone of national liberation but are global in nature. A number of concrete demands were addressed to the United States and other imperialist powers.

The political declaration notes with satisfaction that the "nonaligned and other developing countries, the national liberation movements, and the democratic peace-loving and freedom-loving forces in the entire world play an active role in the struggle for peace, universal disarmament, and progress in the entire world." The conference disapproved of the views and positions presupposing the use of nuclear weapons and in particular of the U.S. concepts of "containment" and "limited" nuclear war.

The nonaligned countries worked out a whole program for disarmament, which became a component part of the political declaration adopted by the conference. The program emphasizes that international peace and security can only be reached through complete and universal disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, which should take place under effective international control.

The conference appealed to the states possessing nuclear weapons to take urgent measures to stop the arms race and immediately ban the use and the threat of using such weapons. It further put forward a proposal to freeze the development, production, accumulation, and deployment of nuclear weapons and finally to formulate in the shortest possible time an all-embracing treaty banning its tests.

The disarmament program also included requirements to strive for non-nuclear disarmament, to use space only for peaceful purposes, and to conclude without delay a treaty banning chemical weapons. The conference spoke in favor of creating nuclear-free zones, welcomed the worldwide disarmament campaign, and appealed for the quickest possible elaboration of an all-embracing disarmament program. In its Delhi appeal the conference called on the nuclear powers "to take urgent and practical measures to prevent a nuclear war," "to conduct more energetic negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament," and to observe the existing agreements on arms reduction. This appeal is clearly directed against the United States since it is well known that it is precisely Washington which puts the brakes on or disrupts the negotiations and the fulfillment of agreements in this sphere.

Also addressed to the United States was the criticism of the "inflexible positions taken by some leading powers" at the UN General Assembly second Special Session on Disarmament, the deployment by "some nuclear states" or their intention to deploy nuclear weapons in "various world regions" and the cooperation of "certain Western powers and Israel in arming the racist regime of South Africa with nuclear weapons."

The conference "expressed deep concern about the accumulation of non-nuclear and nuclear weapons in Israel, weapons which are designed to strengthen Israel as a base of colonialism and racism in the third world as a whole and in Africa and Asia in particular." Having resolutely condemned Tel Aviv's bandit-like raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor as an act of state terrorism and aggression, the participants in the Delhi forum noted that aggression against a peaceful nuclear objective carried out with the help of conventional weapons can have the same consequences as one carried out with the help of nuclear weapons and that it represents a threat to general peace and security. The conference appealed for the speediest possible elaboration of an international agreement on banning armed raids against nuclear objectives.

Even a cursory survey of the proposals and appeals of the Delhi conference on the questions of disarmament and prevention of a nuclear catastrophe make it possible to see how much they are in accord with the peace initiatives of the USSR and other socialist states. This undoubtedly broadens even further the foundation of the interaction between the nonaligned and the socialist countries and their joint struggle in the name of solving the most topical task facing mankind--that of preserving peace and life on earth.

Even broader is the range of decisions made by the Delhi conference in regard to other problems concerning the relaxation of international tension and guaranteeing security and the peaceful coexistence of states. Another range

of questions was also expanded in a corresponding manner: that in which conference participants spoke directly or in a slightly veiled form against the policy of the United States, of other imperialist powers and their accomplices, a policy which is dangerous for the cause of peace.

The conference came out resolutely in favor of relaxing international tension and improving mutual understanding between states, against all threats to use force or its actual use and against all interference, interventions and aggression. Just like all the previous forums of the nonaligned movement the conference confirmed the "right of the people living under colonial and foreign domination and occupation to exercise self-determination and independence and the right of all the peoples to chose their own political, economic and social systems as well as their right of eternal sovereignty over their own natural resources." The Delhi forum welcomed the declaration adopted by the 36th session of the UN General Assembly on the inadmissibility of interference in the internal affairs of states, in accordance with the decision of the Havana conference of nonaligned countries--a decision adopted on these countries' initiative--and characterized this declaration as a "historic contribution of the nonaligned movement to solving the task of establishing procedures for international relations based on mutual respect, sovereignty, and independence." At the same time the forum expressed serious concern in connection with the continuing policy of intervention and interference, pressure and the threat of the use or the actual use of force in regard to many nonaligned countries which is fraught with "dangerous consequences for peace and security."

The starting position of the conference participants in this question can perhaps be seen in the following response to the assertions voiced by the United States and other imperialist powers that the original reason for tension and the destabilized situation in various regions of the developing world lies in the policy of the USSR and the "conflict between the East and the West."

The Political Declaration emphasizes: "The attempt to mistakenly characterize the struggle of the peoples for their independence and human dignity as an element of confrontation between the East and the West thus deprives the peoples of the right to decide their own destiny and realize their legitimate hopes." This conclusion is not only of great practical but also of great theoretical significance. This was vividly illustrated by the speech of Fidel Castro who denounced Washington's attempts to "make the world believe that the events in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala are not a result of protests which have been growing throughout decades... and that all this is a result of a sinister plot with whose help Moscow would allegedly control these peoples through Cuba." Referring to the decision of the Coordination Bureau of the nonaligned movement which was taken in Managua in January this year the Cuban leader demonstrated that it is no one else but the United States which is responsible for the explosive situation which has at present taken shape in Central America and in the Caribbean. He noted: "The start of the interventionist U.S. policy in Central America was made even before the October Revolution in Russia."

The conference voiced concern regarding the incessant colonialist policy of pressure, threats and aggression which is being pursued in Central America, in the Caribbean and in the South Atlantic. It demanded that the U.S. Government immediately and unconditionally put an end to its hostile actions against Cuba and lift the economic blockade around Cuba; appealed to the United States and Honduras to put an end to their aggressive subversive operations against Nicaragua, and resolutely came out in support of Grenada, Surinam, the people of El Salvador, and other countries struggling against the open and covert intrigues on the part of the imperialist forces and for their complete liberation. The conference participants confirmed their resolute support for the "right of the Republic of Argentina to restore by way of negotiations its sovereignty over the Malvinas." They supported the striving of the Latin American states to "establish a regional organization to represent the interests of all the countries of this region," that is an association in which, unlike in the OAS, the United States would not be represented.

The conference voiced deep concern regarding the plans of forming a military alliance between the Republic of South Africa and some Latin American states-- a so-called South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO). The conference warned that establishing this bloc would create a threat to the security of Africa and international peace and security as a whole.

The nonaligned countries condemned "all kinds of racism including zionism and apartheid as well as the policy of those countries which support them." They declared once again their solidarity with the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, confirmed the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence, came out against the regime of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and the "dark plans directed toward perpetuating colonialism disguised as bantustanization" of the country. They also confirmed their support of the "inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence" and spoke in favor of completely liquidating "all kinds of colonial survival in the Republic of Panama."

The political declaration of the conference repeatedly rejects the tendency of the U.S. administration to connect the question of giving independence to Namibia with the withdrawal of the Cuban forces from Angola, and emphasizes that such a demand on the part of the United States represents "unjustified interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Angola." Nonaligned countries demanded an "immediate and unconditioned withdrawal of the forces of the Republic of South Africa from Angolan territory" and resolutely condemned the "acts of military, political and economic destabilization which are becoming increasingly frequent" and which are undertaken by the racist Pretorian regime against the neighboring states, such as Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesoto, Swaziland, and the Seychelles. What is more, the conference appealed to all the nonaligned countries as well as to the other peace-loving forces to comprehensively assist and support these states in strengthening their defense potential.

The conference expressed deep concern in connection with the establishment of a "strategic alliance" between the United States and Israel which has

"consolidated the aggressive role of Israel" and "threatens the stability of the countries of the Middle East and peace and security in the entire world" and condemned "all the aspects... of the policy of the United States helping Israel." It also condemned the Israeli invasion of Lebanese territory and the crimes committed by the invaders in this nonaligned country, in particular the murder of civilians and the destruction of cities. Also condemned was the fact that "Israel and the United States are encroaching upon Syria's right to provide itself with means of self-defense."

The nonaligned movement once again expressed its full support of the PLO and its "solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab nation against the Israeli invasion, aggression, and threats and for implementing the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and the liberation of the occupied Palestine and Arab Lands." In its political declaration the conference "highly regarded" the effective solidarity of the socialist and other peace-loving countries and appealed to them to "intensify their political, diplomatic, and material support" of the Palestinian people and the Arab states.

Having discussed the situation in the United Nations and in particular in the Security Council and having appealed to the United States to "renounce abuse of its veto right" the participants of the conference emphasized that "Israel cannot be regarded as a peace-loving country" and that "it is high time for the United Nations organization to take the necessary measures against Israel according to Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The nonaligned countries once again appealed to "strive to boycott Israel in the diplomatic, economic, military, and cultural spheres and in the sphere of sea and air traffic."

The Delhi forum condemned "all the agreements and treaties which violate or infringe upon the rights of the Arab nation and the Palestinian people," supported and approved the Arab peace plan put forward by the 12th summit conference of the Arab countries in Fes (Morocco), and formed a committee at the heads of state level which must "strive together with the various forces influencing the Middle East conflict for a just, durable, and comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East."

The conference came out in favor of creating zones of peace in the Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, Central America, Caribbean, and in Southeast Asia. In referring to the United States it firmly and resolutely condemned the "unjustified delays resulting from the position of some great powers" in convoking a conference on the Indian Ocean and declared that the nonaligned countries are resolved to fight for the success of this conference which is now planned to be held in Sri Lanka in 1984. At the same time it appealed to renew the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the USSR (arbitrarily disrupted by Washington) on the questions of reducing and subsequently liquidating the military presence in the Indian Ocean.

The nonaligned movement devoted particular attention to the question of foreign military bases in the national liberation zone. The nonaligned movement regards Washington's activity aimed at "expanding the existing military bases

and searching for new bases as well as building new military command structures" as a threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and peaceful development of the states in the region of the Indian Ocean. The participants in the conference came out in favor of the peaceful unification of Korea and the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea and demanded the quickest possible return of Diego Garcia Island to Mauritius as well as the complete restoration of its sovereignty over the entire Chagos Archipelago which was taken away by England in 1965. They also confirmed their comprehensive support for Cuba's just demand that the United States restore its territory illegally occupied by the Guantanamo naval base and once again condemned the cases of building foreign military bases against the will of those states on whose territory they are built. The conference welcomed Cyprus's proposal of its total demilitarization. It is characteristic that those nonaligned countries which had offered the Pentagon the so-called special privileges which in fact are nothing other than new military bases were subjected to criticism from the rostrum of the conferences.

In connection with the fact that in recent years the bilateral relations between some liberated states have exacerbated, the conference devoted great attention to the question of the peaceful solution of territorial arguments. And although in spite of all the efforts its participants have failed to solve the most bloody of such conflicts--between Iran and Iraq--and reconcile the opponents, the decisions of the conference regarding this question are of great importance for consolidating the unity of the nonaligned movement. In its political declaration it confirmed the principles of territorial integrity and inviolability of the internationally recognized borders of the countries participating in the movement as well as of noninterference and respect of the peoples' right of free national and social development and mutual respect of independence and sovereignty. The declaration emphasizes: "Conflicts between neighboring states should be solved by peaceful means--through direct negotiations, with the help of mediation or assistance approved by the interested countries or with the help of other means envisaged in the UN Charter, without pressure, threat to use or actual use of force, and without foreign interference or intervention." The conference voiced its "resolution to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the nonaligned movement and consolidate its capability of acting in support of peace and cooperation."

Particularly ungainly against this background are the attempts on the part of the imperialist and neocolonialist circles to influence the work of the conference and lead it away from discussing the topical problems of the movement--the questions of preserving and consolidating peace on earth as an indispensable condition for solving the economic and social tasks facing the liberated states and consolidating the solidarity of the nonaligned countries. The so-called Afghan and Kampuchean questions were particularly heavily banked on but this stake was lost. The conference discussion demonstrated that the course toward the political normalization of the situation around Afghanistan meets with the growing understanding and support among the ranks of the nonaligned movement. As for the place of Kampuchea in this movement, the conference rejected Sihanouk's claim to represent Kampuchea, leaving Kampuchea's seat vacant as was decided at the Havana conference.

As if to summarize the results of the work accomplished by the Delhi forum, the heads of states and governments representing the countries which participated in the conference drew an important conclusion in their political declaration that the time has come when all the states must participate in taking decisions concerning the problems which face mankind. They emphasized that at such a time the democratization of international relations is absolutely indispensable.

Apart from the topical political questions of the present day the Delhi forum of nonaligned countries focused its attention on the problems of economic development of the liberated states, such as occur in the process of eliminating the colonial legacy both in the developing countries themselves and in the sphere of their relations with the former mother states and other imperialist powers. This historically legitimate process is reflected in the intensifying struggle of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America for achieving economic independence. It is not surprising that the nonaligned movement is increasingly aiming at solving the tasks of a "second liberation", decolonizing the economy and other development spheres and transforming the entire complex of the worldwide economic ties on a just and democratic basis.

The final documents issued by the conference on this question note that the "existing economic order is incapable of solving the problems of development" and formulate the course taken by the nonaligned countries which is aimed at "completing decolonization and democratizing international relations and cooperation on an equal basis." In this connection the main conclusions drawn by the conference are based on recognizing the growing interconnection between international problems and their solutions.

Another starting base of the decisions taken by the conference on economic issues is the principle contained in the Delhi appeal which states that the "inadmissible inequality and exploitation generated by colonialism and imperialism still continue to be the most important reasons of tension, conflicts, and violence in the world." The economic declaration explains in particular that the given factors "are a serious obstacle on the road to economic and social progress of these (developing--Yu.A) countries and a threat to peace and security" and that "eliminating them is an indispensable condition for developing the economy of the developing countries and for effective international economic cooperation."

The conference appealed to the liberated states to intensify their struggle for the radical transformation of international economic relations, including monetary and financial ones, against the policy of protectionism pursued by the Western powers in their trade with the developing countries, for establishing a New International procedure in the sphere of information and communications. Coming forward in favor of establishing a "new just and universal international monetary system" the conference pointed out that control in the given sphere" continues to be the privilege of a few dominating developed countries" which exert growing pressure on the international financial institutions, particularly on the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the IMF with "the aim of inducing them to adopt a politically motivated approach to those conditions on which loans are

granted." Expressing its concern about the fact that the official debt of the developing countries represents a small part of their outstanding debt the conference rejected the proposals of the Western powers, first and foremost the United States, which as is well known had been put forward by President Reagan at the Cancun meeting "to transfer the international monetary and financial system to private hands."

The Western position in regard to conducting "global negotiations" on the issues of establishing the New International Economic Order was also the subject of condemnation on the part of the participants of the nonaligned forum. The economic declaration emphasizes: "The flexibility demonstrated by the Group of 77 in regard of proposals made by the summit meeting in Versaille failed to meet with any positive response from the leading developed countries which since that time have maintained their hard position." With the aim of overcoming the existing stalemate the nonaligned states spoke in favor of these negotiations "being held on a worldwide scale and in the framework of the United Nations" and proposed to convoke a special conference within the framework of the world community which would solve the question of opening "global negotiations" in early 1984 as well as an "international conference on money and finance with the aim of development and the participation of all countries."

Along with this, great attention was paid in Delhi to the problem of expanding economic cooperation between the developing countries themselves within the framework of the concept of "collective reliance on one's own forces" and "collective self-sufficiency." This direction in the activity of the movement which is gaining strength is far from opposed to the negotiations with the developed countries and the struggle to establish a New International Economic Order; on the contrary, it is regarded as an "indispensible element" of the efforts on the part of the nonaligned states which are aimed at its establishment. The bilateral subregional and regional cooperation between the developing countries does not, as the economic declaration emphasizes, "substitute their cooperation with the developed countries" and "is not directed against any country or group of countries."

The special declaration on collective self-sufficiency of the nonaligned and other developing countries emphasizes that the consolidation of their economic cooperation is aimed at achieving economic, social, and cultural decolonization and is an "expression of the political striving on the part of these countries to achieve economic liberation" and "reduce the vulnerability of their economies under the influence of negative international economic tendencies." In this declaration the conference participants assumed an obligation to "express collective solidarity and political support for all the nonaligned and other developing countries or groups implementing their sovereign rights on their natural resources, including their extraction, processing, the setting of prices and marketing as well as to confirm their solidarity under external pressure."

Thus, in the economic aspect the adopted documents contain a series of measures aimed at thwarting the neocolonialist attempts to foist an "equal partnership" on the liberated states with the aim of preserving the system of exploitation and dependence. It was with this program that the liberated states came

forward at the UNCTAD VI session in Belgrade in June this year. The opposition of the developing countries to imperialism's economic diktat inevitably transforms itself into the struggle against its aggressive policy and for maintaining peace. As Fidel Castro emphasized in Delhi, "our vital economic requirements will induce us to defend peace anyway because this is our first and most urgent need."

The conference took a number of organizational measures to secure the implementation of the adopted decisions. In particular, the membership of the coordination bureau was expanded to encompass 74 instead of 36 countries of which 36 countries represent Africa, 23 represent Asia, 12 Latin America, and 3 Europe. It is planned that the regular conference of ministers of foreign affairs of the nonaligned countries be convened in Luanda (Angola) in 1985; the question about the place of the next summit meeting of the nonaligned movement must also be decided there.

The successful completion of the seventh conference of the heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries met with satisfaction both in the nonaligned countries themselves and in other peace-loving states. Its results convincingly attest to the fact that under the conditions of exacerbated international tension and intensified neocolonialist pressure exerted on the national-liberation movement the nonaligned movement has passed its test in anti-imperialism. Anti-imperialism continued to dominate the entire activity of the movement.

It is natural that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries welcome the growing contribution of the nonaligned states to the general struggle of the peace-loving forces against the imperialist policy of aggression and the unleashing of war and for equal international political and economic cooperation. As the April meeting of the committee of ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact member states emphasized in its communique, "preventing war depends first and foremost on the cooperative, cohesive, and purposeful actions of the forces of peace which are now more powerful than the forces of war... These actions are becoming increasingly effective. The seventh summit conference of the nonaligned countries in Delhi made an important contribution in this direction."

The negative reaction of the West to the work and results of the nonaligned forum is also understandable. Indeed the conference has destroyed its hopes that the "equidistance" so ardently desired would emerge victorious in Delhi. The U.S. State Department could not resist publishing a statement that the conference had adopted documents which "do not reflect the principles of nonalignment." It turns out that Washington knows better than the participants themselves who have adopted these documents what genuine nonalignment is! The English newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES bitterly stated that the "declaration prepared in Delhi by the representatives of almost 100 developing countries... undermined all the hopes in the West that the nonaligned movement would take a more neutral position with respect to the United States."

Of course the opponents of the movement have not put down their arms, they will not renounce the attempts to undermine by all possible means its anti-militarist

and anti-imperialist course and prevent the decisions of the conference from being implemented. Their main blow will without doubt be directed against strengthening the solidarity between the nonaligned and socialist states.

Under these conditions it seems that achieving the goals set in the final documents of the Delhi forum will not be easy. However, something else is equally clear: There is no force in the world which is capable of suppressing the striving of the peoples for economic and social liberation. The nonaligned movement stands on firm foundations--these are the interests of the peoples of the nonaligned countries and their craving for peace and socioeconomic progress which inevitably bring them into opposition to imperialism and neocolonialism and unite them with the other peace-loving forces on our planet.

There is only one door to the future open to all peoples on our planet--it is peace and peaceful coexistence. Only through joined actions and not separately and in isolation from each other will they be able to prevent imperialism from slamming this door shut. The destiny of the nonaligned countries and the nonaligned movement is inseparable from the destiny of all mankind.

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USSR STRUGGLES FOR EUROPEAN PEACE, SECURITY AGAINST U.S. OPPOSITION

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[Article by G. Vorontsov: "In the Vanguard of the Struggle for Security and Detente in Europe"]

[Excerpts] The international-political position of the European continent is characterized by a whole number of factors of a historical, military, political, economic and other nature. It is generally recognized that Europe is a principal center of man's culture and progress in all areas and spheres of his life and activity.

At the same time Europe, the greatest treasure house of man's genius, has been the arena of numerous conflicts, including two devastating world wars, which have shaken mankind. Twenty million human lives sacrificed on the altar of a great victory--such was the price paid by the peoples of the Soviet Union for the salvation of civilization from fascist barbarism.

In the fire of the revolutionary changes which swept over the continent there was born the world's first socialist country and, subsequently, the community of socialist states, which put forward an alternative to the imperialist policy of plunder, confrontation and wars. A just, democratic setup, good-neighborliness and cooperation and joint actions to consolidate peace and security--this is the way proposed for Europe by the socialist countries.

The struggle to ensure European security has always occupied a most important place in the foreign policy efforts of the Soviet state since the time of its founding. The close attention paid by the party and the government to this question is perfectly understandable. The Soviet Union is a European power, and it has a vital interest in the life of all the peoples of the continent being built on the firm, indestructible basis of peace and mutual cooperation. In the most recent period of history the destiny of Europe would have taken shape in a largely different manner if the numerous proposals and initiatives of the USSR concerning the preservation and consolidation of peace on our continent had been implemented in good time.

Currently the situation in Europe cannot fail to cause disquiet. Questions of European security have assumed particular seriousness as a result of the actions of the U.S. Administration and militarist circles of NATO. "Key significance is now attached," the CPSU Central Committee message to the 16th Socialist

International Congress emphasized, "to the question of how to avoid a new round of the nuclear arms race in Europe. The deployment of new American missiles in West Europe would create a most serious danger primarily for the European peoples and would lead to an even further, sharper deterioration of the international situation and a new twist to the arms race spiral. Contrary to the will of the overwhelming majority of its population and without the knowledge of its authorities even, a new war, this time nuclear, could be unleashed from the territory of the FRG."*

The Soviet Union believes that there is a real opportunity to avert such a development of events. Immediate actions are needed to halt man's slide toward the dangerous brink of war. There is not now nor can there be a more important task.

The Soviet state's formulation of questions of ensuring European security has always been tied in most closely with the efforts in respect of disarmament--both general and complete and partial.

Averse to Eurocentrism in all its forms and manifestations, the Soviet Union has proceeded and continues to proceed from the fact that peace in Europe is not a purely regional issue but part of the global problem of ensuring universal peace and international security. This approach takes account both of Europe's role in man's history past and present and the fact that under current conditions, given the presence of nuclear weapons, a European war would inevitably become a general catastrophe. The inseparable connection of the problem of security in Europe with questions of war and peace in other regions of the world, whether in the Near East, Africa, Asia or Latin America, is also obvious.

In emphasizing the world significance of the problem of ensuring European security the CPSU and the Soviet state at the same time believe that it is primarily a question of a fundamental, key issue for the fate and very existence of the European continent and a question of the life and death of the peoples which inhabit it. Finally, ensuring European security means not only averting military conflicts on the continent but organizing close, diverse cooperation--the more so in that under Europe's conditions the dialectical interconnection between military security and peaceful cooperation is manifested more distinctly than in many other parts of the world.

The transition to a new stage in international relations emerged in the latter half of the 1960's. The irrepressible growth of the might of the USSR and its allies and the strengthening of the entire socialist community revealed the utter groundlessness of cold war strategy. The policy of confrontation pursued by the United States and its allies failed to produce the desired political and economic dividends for the West. This fact was manifested in particular relief in Europe. It was here that the first shoots of a relaxation of tension began to strengthen under the impact of the magnetic force of the foreign policy of the USSR and the other socialist community countries.

American imperialism proved incapable of curbing the positive trends in the policy of its West European partners. Relying on increased economic potential

* PRAVDA 9 April 1983.

and aspiring to greater independence from their transatlantic patron, first France and then a number of other West European states embarked on the path of a quest for forms of dialogue between East and West.

Taking account of the situation which had taken shape in Europe, the 23d CPSU Congress (1966) proclaimed the task of an immediate start to negotiations on the entire set of problems of European security. In the summer of the same year the Warsaw Pact states adopted at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest the Declaration on Strengthening Peace and Security in Europe. They called for the simultaneous liquidation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact and, as a first step, the disbandment of their military organizations, declared their readiness for measures of military relaxation and presented the initiative of the convening of an all-European conference on security and cooperation. The idea of such a conference being held was developed at the conference of 24 European communist and workers parties in Karlovy Vary (1967), meetings of the Warsaw Pact countries in Sofia (1968) and Budapest (1969) and other meetings of party and state leaders of the socialist countries.

On the eve and at the outset of the 1970's the indefatigable efforts of the USSR and its allies led to a qualitative change in East-West relations. Important steps in respect of the settlement of a number of problems which had been left open since the end of World War II belong to this period. The signing of a series of treaties between the USSR, the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia on the one hand and the FRG on the other and also the Four-Party West Berlin Agreement removed from the agenda a whole set of urgent European problems of a territorial-political nature. At the same time in the sphere of Soviet-American relations the process of limiting the strategic nuclear arms race was initiated. All this together with constantly increasing economic cooperation led to a relaxation of international tension, which became particularly well advanced on the European continent.

A most important landmark on this path was the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, whose convening and successful realization were possible primarily thanks to the unflagging activity and tremendous perseverance displayed by the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries. Even now, in a period of a new exacerbation of the international situation, Western observers and specialists who by no means harbor sympathies toward the USSR are forced to give this historic forum its due. Thus the prominent French expert, Prof G. de Karmua, writes in the article "Defense and Detente": "The detente process was crowned by the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Helsinki in 1975. The Final Act confirmed on behalf of all the participating states recognition of the inviolability of existing borders."*

It is not redundant to recall in this connection the equivocal position which the White House occupied in the mid-1970's in respect of the all-European process.

* NATO-REVIEW No 2, 1982, p 14.

A joint work of Harvard and MIT, "European Security: Prospects for the 1980's," provides a highly symptomatic evaluation of the United States' participation in the Helsinki conference. Whereas West European states approached it in the hope of creating a kind of "code of detente," "the U.S. delegation arrived with highly modest expectations, adopting a negotiating strategy which is best described as geared to damage control (for the United States (G.V.))."* According to the authors, Washington by no means expressed interest in the creation of all-European mechanisms, considering this a secondary issue, and manifested "insignificant" participation in the preparation of the text of the Final Act, which testified to the fact that the United States' very presence at the meeting was primarily a forced concession on its part.

Thus the United States wished to see Europe divided as before into opposite groupings. As far as the R. Reagan administration is concerned, it has set the task of strengthening American leadership at the expense of a weakening not only of "rivals," that is, the socialist countries, primarily the USSR, but closest allies also--the West European NATO partners. Washington has done and is continuing to do everything to exclude them from the all-European process and force them to orient themselves toward "Atlantic ties," understanding by this alignment exclusively with the United States.

The historical experience of the postwar decades testifies that right at the very start of this period two approaches to ensuring security in Europe were determined with even greater clarity. On the one hand the approach of American imperialism and reactionary circles of the West European bourgeoisie aimed at the dismantling of allied relations with the USSR and creating the aggressive NATO bloc with its clearly expressed anti-Soviet, antisocialist thrust. The purpose was clear: to rally the "Western world" into a single strike force and create superior strength to put pressure on the USSR, dictate its will to it and turn back the historical process.

The champions of the cold war conceived of a strengthening of the Western states' security merely at the expense and to the detriment of the security of the socialist countries. This alone predetermined the flawed nature of such a plan, not to mention the fact that there was hereby an intensification of the division of Europe into two groupings and a consolidation of their confrontation in the military, political and economic spheres, which led ultimately to the blocking of processes of an all-European nature.

Diametrically opposite was the policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, which put forward a truly constructive program for ensuring European security which provided for the consolidation of the territorial-political realities which had taken shape in Europe as a result of the war and postwar development, effective measures with respect to political and military relaxation and the consolidation of all-European cooperation. In the new structure of the European setup a worthy place as to be occupied by all countries--large and small, socialist and capitalist and neutral and nonaligned. Whereas the policy of the United States and NATO infringed the interests of states and subordinated them to the militarist goals of U.S. and NATO ruling circles, the policy of the USSR and its allies was aimed at creating a truly peaceful Europe. Counterposed to the plans for "rolling back" socialism was a program of the emphatic rolling back of the

* "European Security: Prospects for the 1980's," ed. D. Leebaert, Lexington, 1979, pp 214-215.

threat of war and ensuring the genuine security of all states of the continent. Practice put these two courses in European policy to a serious test throughout the postwar decades. The first of them revealed its total groundlessness. The second proved its viability and found support among the broadest masses of the public and the realistic part of the West European countries' ruling circles, which proved receptive to the USSR's peace initiatives to a greater extent than the United States. After all, much, including the survival of entire states and peoples in Europe, depends on how East-West relations develop. It is not fortuitous that L. Freedman, a fellow of London's Royal Institute of International Relations, observes in a recent monograph that the need for arms control negotiations is perceived "more strongly in Europe than in the United States," and for this reason "West European governments will not undermine the negotiating process" with the Soviet Union.*

Serious steps in the direction of strengthening European security in the 1970's became possible largely under the conditions and thanks to the achievement of military balance at the strategic level between the USSR and the United States and the rough parity of Warsaw Pact and NATO forces. Its disturbance could have the most negative impact on European security.

To judge by everything, it is precisely this balance, which fetters imperialism's freedom of action, with which Washington just cannot reconcile itself. Princeton professor S. Cohen in a recent article entitled "Sovietophobia" defines the latter as deliberately exaggerated fear of the USSR. The bogey of the "empire of evil," to turn to Reagan's lexicon, is used in the United States to justify plans for waging nuclear wars and to substantiate the aspiration to superiority over the Soviet Union. In fact the United States, as distinct from the majority of other states, the author observes, "has yet to fully recognize that the Soviet Union--whether we wish this or not--has become a truly great power with corresponding interests and rights in world affairs."**

The approximate balance between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO is of fundamental significance and is a historic achievement of socialism. In the present complex international situation it is more important than ever to maintain this balance and prevent its disturbance inasmuch as it is this which forms the foundation on which peace in Europe and in the world as a whole is based.

The experience of the 1970's shows convincingly that firm and dependable security on our continent can be ensured only under conditions of a relaxation of tension. The two world wars demonstrated the ruinous consequences for the European peoples and all mankind of military operations in densely populated parts of our continent with the use of conventional means alone. The danger increases a thousandfold in the nuclear age, when nuclear weapons with unprecedented power of destruction are concentrated in the hands of a number of states. Their use could have catastrophic results.

In this sense the hopes of "limiting" a nuclear war and waging it in accordance with some abstract "rules" or other appear transparent, to say the least. It is perfectly natural that the "limited nuclear war" concept adopted by the R. Reagan administration is being sharply assailed not only in the

* L. Freedman, "Arms Control in Europe," London, 1983, p 4.

** INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE 26-27 March 1983.

socialist countries but in the West also. "The criticisms of the current trends in the United States' official nuclear strategy," the American author (K. Grey) observes, "are correct in pointing out the serious difficulty of controlling and limiting a nuclear war."*

Furthermore, it may be said with all certainty that the search for a way out of the state of a kind of military-strategic stalemate thanks to preparation for a war, however "limited" it is portrayed by its supporters, who hope to "control" it on the basis of some "codification of rules" of waging such a war, is entailing a spurring of tension and engendering mistrust between states.

Exceptional importance in our day is attached to the question of limiting the race in nuclear arms in Europe and reducing them. The existence of rough equivalence of intermediate-range nuclear missiles between the USSR and the NATO states could serve as a realistic basis for its solution. It is known that more than 700 American nuclear weapon-carrying aircraft, 98 missiles and 46 aircraft of France and also 64 missiles and 55 aircraft of Britain, which as a whole constitutes 986 carriers of nuclear weapons, figure among such missiles in NATO. The USSR has 975 such arms.

It is understandable that implementation of the NATO decision to deploy an additional 572 cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe would upset this balance, creating a carrier preponderance of a factor of 1.5 in favor of NATO. Naturally, the North Atlantic bloc's advantage would be increased even more with the deployment of the new missiles.

In addition, there is every reason to believe that the change in the correlation of nuclear missiles would not be confined to a disturbance of the regional balance within the European framework inasmuch as the additional American missiles, in the event of their deployment, would be a strategic threat to the Soviet Union. They are capable of reaching targets throughout the European territory of the USSR, and in a very limited period of time, moreover. Thus there would also be a change in the strategic situation on a global level to the detriment of the USSR.

It is not fortuitous that the United States has from the very outset occupied an obstructionist position, which is blocking progress at the Geneva talks. The U.S. President's "zero option" was knowingly unacceptable to the Soviet Union. In fact, could there have been any other reception for a proposal according to which the USSR was to unilaterally do away with all its intermediate-range missiles while both the United States and other NATO states would preserve all their existing nuclear missiles of this category?

The Soviet Union has counterposed to the pseudozero plan of the United States an approach which leads to real reductions in intermediate-range weapons in the hundreds. It proposes several options for a solution of the problem. The most far-reaching of them provides for both sides' complete renunciation

* ORBIS, summer 1982, p 342.

not only of intermediate-range but also tactical nuclear weapons. This would truly be a "zero option". Another consists of the Soviet Union and the NATO countries reducing their intermediate-range arms more than threefold. But this also does not suit the United States, which is pressing by every method for military superiority.

The proposals put forward in the report of Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "60 Years of the USSR" and also in subsequent speeches of his were a step of exceptional importance. Sincerely wishing to reach agreements on a basis which is fair for both sides, the USSR expressed a readiness to consent to keep in Europe as many missiles as Britain and France have--and not one more. This means a reduction of hundreds of Soviet missiles, including the most modern, which are called SS-20's in the West. As a result there would be neither Soviet nor American intermediate-range missiles confronting each other in Europe. And if the number of British and French missiles were subsequently to diminish, there would be an additional cut in the number of Soviet missiles by the same amount. Together with this it is proposed reducing to equal levels on the part of the USSR and the NATO countries the number of medium-range nuclear missile-carrying aircraft.

Yet the "interim option" recently put forward by the American side is, like the "zero" option, also aimed at the USSR's unilateral disarmament. First of all, it does not take account of the British and French intermediate-range missiles, which are a component of the general forces of the North Atlantic alliance and have a perfectly defined directivity, which has been declared repeatedly in these countries themselves.

Although official circles of the United States and also Britain and France stubbornly reject the necessity of counting the British and French missiles in the general balance of intermediate-range nuclear missiles, a different viewpoint is gaining increasingly great recognition in the West. Thus Sen E. Kennedy submitted for debate in the U.S. Senate a proposal compiled by a group of experts including P. Warnke, former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, R. Garthoff, former member of the U.S. delegation at the SALT I negotiations, J. Leonard, former deputy U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, and others. They proceed from the fact that it is in America's interests "to acknowledge the role of the British and French forces." This does not mean, in their opinion, that the reductions must extend to the missiles of Britain and France, but "their presence should be considered in the overall East-West balance."*

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it, naturally, cannot ignore the threat being created on the part not only of the United States but also its allies, whose weapons have to be counted in the overall potential of the nuclear forces of the NATO members from both the political and military-strategic and technical viewpoints.

The "interim" option put forward by the White House sets aside the many hundred American nuclear weapon-carrying aircraft based in West Europe and on

* CONGRESSIONAL RECORD No 133, 30 September 1982, p 2.

carriers. The United States is attempting in this way to create the impression that it lacks a "counterweight" to the Soviet missiles. The groundlessness of such an assertion is perfectly obvious. We may refer merely to the statement of R. Burt, head of the State Department's military policy bureau, made in the course of special hearings in the House International Affairs Committee. Justifying the deployment of new missiles in Europe, R. Burt proved that such a step would not be an innovation in principle inasmuch as since 1952 "the United States has had systems in Europe capable of striking the Soviet Union."*

Washington's "interim" option also presupposes doing away with the corresponding category of Soviet missiles in Asia. The utter lack of justification for such a demand ensues if only from the fact that these missiles have nothing to do with Europe and are not a threat to the West European countries.

It is clear that for results to be achieved at the Geneva talks what is needed is a different, objective position of the American side corresponding to the need for the preservation of the sides' equality and equal security.

The United States' "interim option" is also being sharply criticized in many authoritative circles of West Europe. According to H.J. Vogel, a leader of the SPD, "there are doubts as to whether in reality the so-called 'interim' proposal represents a step in the right direction. It signifies not a qualitative but merely a quantitative change." The Greek Government has also expressed its disagreement with the deployment of the new American missiles in connection with the advancement of the "interim" option.

Observing that "the Americans came to Geneva without a particular desire to negotiate," British Labor Party leader M. Foot emphasized that the first demand for the Geneva negotiations came from the Europeans. "The real pressure, real urgency and real ardor thanks to which the Geneva negotiations ultimately began," he noted, "emanated first of all from the protest marches of the peace forces... and then from the governments of European countries."

According to an official representative of Denmark's Social Democratic Party, politicians of President Reagan's type "prefer to act in respect of the East from a position of strength, rejecting the very possibility of a quest for political solutions of existing problems." "It is impossible to fight for peace," Swedish Prime Minister O. Palme emphasized, "by coming out with bellicose statements. Peace must be saved only by way of serious negotiation."

In seeking one-sided military advantages for itself the United States manifestly does not aspire to a quest for a mutually acceptable arrangement with the USSR. Responding to questions of a PRAVDA correspondent, Yu.V. Andropov emphasized in this connection: "I have already said the USSR will not consent to unilateral disarmament. And if it comes to the deployment of new American missiles in Europe, we will respond to this in the necessary way. But this would not be our choice. The Soviet Union is for another way."**

* DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, May 1982, p 51.

** PRAVDA 2 February 1983.

It is along this path that the Soviet Union continues to proceed, having expressed a readiness to come to an agreement on an equivalence of nuclear potentials in Europe both in terms of delivery vehicles and in terms of warheads, with regard, of course, for the corresponding armaments of Britain and France. This proposal was contained in Yu.V. Andropov's Kremlin speech on 3 May 1983. Our country advocates the USSR having no more missiles and warheads than on the NATO side in each mutually conditioned period. Upon a reduction in the number of warheads on the British and French missiles, there would be an equivalent reduction in the number of warheads on our immediate-range missiles. A similar approach would extend to the aviation facilities of this category deployed in Europe. Rough equivalence would thus be maintained between the USSR and NATO both in terms of intermediate-range nuclear weapon delivery systems, that is, missiles and aircraft, and in terms of the number of warheads on them, and this equivalence would be at a considerably lower level, furthermore, than now. In the European part of the Soviet Union there would be considerably fewer intermediate-range missiles and warheads on them than prior to 1976, before we had the SS-20 missiles.

Progressive mankind realizes that whoever again says "no" to this proposal of the Soviet Union also assumes a grave responsibility before the peoples of Europe and the whole world. Whether sense triumphs or whether the narrow selfish designs of those who fear peace and good-neighborliness between peoples gain the upper hand depends on the United States and the other NATO countries.

Under present conditions particular significance is attached to the further development of the process begun by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries advocate the fruitful completion of the Madrid meeting and agreement being reached on the convening of a conference on confidence-building measures and security and disarmament in Europe. The USSR believes that such a conference is called on to make a big contribution to easing the military confrontation and the solution of questions of a reduction in armed forces and armaments, which could impart new impetus to the development of the all-European process and determine specific measures for extending cooperation in the political, economic, humanitarian and other spheres. The decisions which the participants are called upon to adopt must be acceptable to all and correspond to the letter and spirit of the Final Act.

On 15 March 1983 a group of neutral and nonaligned participants in the Madrid meeting undertook an initiative aimed at the speediest achievement of a final understanding and the successful completion of the forum, submitting a reworked draft of the final document. And although the draft failed to take account of a number of material Soviet considerations, the USSR, guided by the interests of a continuation of the all-European process begun in Helsinki and the interests of the consolidation of peace and security and the development of cooperation in Europe and an easing of the military confrontation here, expressed readiness to accept the said draft in the form in which it was submitted on 15 March.

If the other participants in the meeting had displayed as broad a political approach and a sense of responsibility, the Madrid meeting could have been

concluded with appreciable positive results in a matter of days. Not to let slip this chance for the cause of peace and the security of the peoples--the Soviet Union addressed this appeal to all the participants in the meeting on 7 May 1983.

The Soviet Union advocates a reduction in the level of the military confrontation of the two groupings and a limitation of and a subsequent reduction in arms. Peace and stability in Europe can be secured not thanks to a buildup of military might and, even less, by attempts to alter the evolved balance of forces but on the basis of the preservation of equilibrium at a lower level. The participants in the Vienna talks on a reduction in armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, at which the Soviet Union and the other socialist states have put forward a whole number of constructive proposals, are called on to engage in a search for such a path. After all, the danger which is created for European peace by the concentration of a large quantity of conventional arms on the continent is obvious. It could increase even more in the event of realization of NATO's plans to increase the latest types of such arms in West Europe.

Endeavoring to speed up the reaching of agreement at the Vienna talks, the participants in the Prague meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee (January 1983) advocated the Soviet Union and the United States taking a practical step forward in terms of a reduction in their armed forces and armaments in Central Europe on the basis of mutual example. Representatives of both sides could observe its implementation. Following the completion of such a reduction, the level of the armed forces and armaments of the direct participants in the negotiations on both sides would be frozen pending an agreement being reached. Following the first mutual reductions of armed forces and arms in Central Europe, it is essential to continue negotiations and switch immediately to further, more significant reductions.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist states consistently advocate the creation in Europe of zones free of nuclear weapons--in the North of the continent, in the Balkans and in other areas--and also the conversion of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and cooperation. The USSR considers the creation of such zones an important direction of the struggle for the consolidation of peace and security on the European continent inasmuch as it would ultimately lead to the freeing of the continent from nuclear weapons and a reduction in the level of nuclear confrontation.

The Soviet side's reply to the Swedish Government on its proposal for the creation in the center of Europe of a zone free of "battlefield nuclear weapons" has had a positive response. The USSR declared its readiness to take part in negotiations concerning the creation of the proposed zone, in the course of which questions concerning the geographical dimensions of the zone, supervision of the sides' commitments in respect of such zones and others are to be examined.

Ultimately, the correctly understood national interests of various European states, irrespective of their allegiance to this socioeconomic system or the other, amount to a defense of peace, the prevention of nuclear catastrophe and the preservation of life on earth.

Washington's policy is oriented toward different goals. The R. Reagan administration is steering matters toward the preparation for war, primarily in Europe, and the undermining of all-European cooperation. The perfectly conscious thrust of this policy and its manifestly destructive nature are confirmed by the fact that, to judge by everything, U.S. ruling circles perceive the very idea of the development of the all-European process as having an anti-American coloration.

This line can be traced, in particular, in a recent interview of B. Rogers, supreme commander of NATO joint armed forces in Europe, given to a West German weekly. Admitting that he "is not thinking of an attack from the East" and that he is "little disturbed" even by this problem, B. Rogers, clearly contradicting his own words, intimidates the West Europeans with the fact that "if the present trends are maintained, the Russians could put West Europe under their political and economic domination."

The path by which the United States and some of its NATO partners are proceeding is capable of leading only to an upward twist of the arms race spiral on the continent and a destabilization of the existing strategic situation. Such a turn of events would also be reflected negatively in all aspects of the life of broad masses of the population of the European countries, which not only progressive circles but also representatives of the ruling classes are beginning to understand.

Even under the conditions of the serious exacerbation of the international situation many West European leaders are deeming it necessary to emphasize their allegiance to detente. This is understandable inasmuch as it is a question of fundamental national interests and the prevention of a devastating nuclear conflict capable of wiping whole peoples and states from the face of the earth.

From present-day standpoints it can be seen particularly distinctly what a threat to European security is posed by implementation of the aggressive plans of the United States and how dangerous is its policy of exacerbating confrontation and undermining that which is united by the concept of detente.

At the same time in a sober evaluation of the situation another spect should be seen also. The intrigues of the bellicose supporters of a revival of the cold war are encountering the invincible might of the USSR and the other socialist community states and all present-day revolutionary detachments. In the way of implementation of the sinister plans of imperialism stands the mass antiwar movement, which has assumed unprecedented proportions in Western countries.

Advancing a constructive program of ensuring European security and the development of the all-European process, the USSR believes in the victory of human reason over the policy of adventures and madness and believes in the commonsense of man and mankind. "The Soviet Union will do everything within its power to secure for present and future generations a tranquil, peaceful future," Yu.V. Andropov observed. "This is the goal of our policy, and we will not retreat from it."

The avowedly aggressive, militarist course of Washington is causing serious apprehension in a considerable proportion of the ruling circles of the majority of West European states. As a counterweight to the R. Reagan administration, which has proclaimed a "crusade" against the USSR, broad West European political and public circles are disposed mainly in favor of a continuation of the dialogue with the socialist countries. Even F. Pym, foreign secretary in the Tory cabinet, declares: "We believe that sober relations with our Soviet neighbor are the sole effective way of ensuring stability in Europe."

Disagreements on questions of war and peace and in connection with specific ways of strengthening the national security of the European states and the continent as a whole are at the center of the inter-Atlantic conflicts. They are increasing the range of the differences between the United States and West Europe even more, accumulating on the traditional spheres of interimperialist rivalry.

To judge by everything, in its present American interpretation the notorious "Atlantism" is suggested as an alternative to the positive development of all-European processes, while Europe is portrayed primarily as a forward theater of military operations situated in direct proximity to vitally important centers of the "potential enemy"--the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries.

The imperial ambitions of Washington, which ignores its allies' sovereign rights, are encountering a growing rebuff on the part of the latter, which are experiencing the full extent of the aggressive style of transatlantic diplomacy. There is political pressure, economic blackmail, interference in internal affairs and an attempt to enlist the junior partners in illegal and senseless anti-Soviet sanctions here.

The R. Reagan administration is endeavoring to rally the allies on a perfectly defined class-political basis--anticommunism. It cannot be said that the antisocialist and anticommunist motives and goals are not finding a response in the ruling class of the West European states, where the idea of the necessity of NATO as a counterweight to the USSR is quite deeply rooted. Of course, Washington attempts to exploit such moods in its egoistic interests.

However, the "unity" declared in NATO documents is by no means adequate to the actual state of affairs on specific questions of economics, politics and the military sphere. In West Europe there is a growing understanding that the widely publicized "initiatives" of the United States conceal its selfish interests and hegemonist pretensions and an endeavor to infringe the interests of its allies and avail itself in direct or indirect form of the latter's resources for the achievement of its own aims.

The spectrum of the disagreements being revealed between Washington and its European partners is very broad. To begin if only with the fact that the West Europeans are not disposed to make common cause with Washington's principle of the possibility of waging a thermonuclear war and winning it. Nor can the indiscriminately support the Pentagon's concept of a "limited nuclear war,"

the arena of which would be the continent of Europe. Yet the United States not only allows such a possibility but is actively preparing for it, which is indicated not only by the statements of officials but also practical measures such as, for example, the planned transfer of U.S. armed forces headquarters in Europe from the FRG to Great Britain.

The voice of protest against American policy is being raised by the representatives of the most varied strata of the West's population. Among these are the "Generals for Peace and Disarmament" group, which includes prominent military specialists of the West G. Bastian (FRG), F. da Costa Gomes (Portugal), M. Harbottle (Britain), G. Koumanakos (Greece), G. Lee (United States) and others. In a special memorandum sent to the United Nations they drew attention to the particular danger of strategic concepts geared to "limited" nuclear wars and based on "strategic superiority". In their opinion, such an armed conflict could mean essentially the death of Europe.*

The mortal threat of nuclear cataclysm hanging over Europe is troubling millions upon millions of Europeans in earnest. The unprecedented growth of the antiwar, antimissile movement and the broadening of the front of fighters for peace and disarmament is a present-day phenomenon. And this is profoundly logical. The prospects of the continent's development and whether Europe will proceed along a path of the spurring of tension as a result of the deployment of new American nuclear missiles or whether a constructive accord will be reached capable of averting a new round of the arms race and strengthening European security will largely depend on how events develop in the current year of 1983. In respect of this cardinal issue there are, as a recent issue of the annual of the Stockholm Peace Research Institute observes, "different priorities on the two sides of the Atlantic". Whereas West European countries would prefer a solution of the question at the negotiating table, and their public opinion is emphatically disposed against the deployment of cruise missiles and Pershings, furthermore, the United States is oriented toward deployment of the new missiles.**

The international-political situation of the start of the 1980's testifies convincingly that the cardinal all-European problems, primarily those of security, may be tackled only in an atmosphere of mutual cooperation and trust and the development of economic and scientific-technical relations and cultural and other contacts. The level of guaranteed security on the continent rises as the European states' capacity for tackling together the serious tasks confronting them grows and as the military-political confrontation eases.

And from this angle also the policy of the Soviet Union corresponds to the objective trends of the development of mutually profitable comprehensive relations and is aimed at fruitful cooperation between all European states and an improvement of the political climate on the continent. The proven

* Memorandum by the Group "Generals for Peace and Disarmament" submitted to the Delegations of the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament. New York, June 7-July 9, 1982, p 6.

** See "World Armaments and Disarmament. SIPRI Yearbook 1982," p 35.

Leninist foreign policy course of the Soviet state corresponds to the interests of the broadest people's masses both in the East and in the West of the continent for it is geared to averting a thermonuclear catastrophe and creating the conditions for the realization of man's most important right-- the right to life.

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SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS ALONE WILL NOT SOLVE JAPAN'S PROBLEMS

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[Article by Yu. Stolyarov, S. Ul'yanichev: "Japan's Scientific-Technical Strategy"]

[Text] Since the war Japan has scored notable successes in economic development. They have been achieved on the basis of a whole number of factors of an economic, social and political order. An important part has been played by the increased efficiency of capital investments and other economic parameters by way of the purposeful use of scientific-technical achievements. This factor had acquired particular significance by the start of the 1980's in connection with the accelerated development of technically intricate and science-intensive production facilities. The further development of the national economy is connected by state-monopoly capitalism primarily with the intensive buildup of its own scientific-technical potential. New goals of a long-term nature, namely, the country's achievement of scientific-technical independence and, in time, its conversion into the leading world center of scientific-technical development, are being set.

The government "White Paper on Science and Technology" emphasizes: "In the 1980's Japan must redouble efforts to become one of the world's principal innovators in the technology sphere, employing for this all accumulated knowledge." Another government document--"Commercial and Industrial Policy for the 1980's"--regards indicators of the level of development of science and technology as indicators of the country's "economic security". The task of converting Japan into a "state of scientific-technical revolution"¹ is being set. The question arises in this connection: how realistic are the ruling circles' plans in the sphere of the development of science and technology and on what possibilities, resources and organizational prerequisites is their scientific-technical strategy based?

The Current Level of R&D

The development of the country's scientific-technical potential since the war has been determined primarily by the need to overcome in a historically short time the considerable lag behind the United States and the West European states.

Emphasis was for this reason put on the extensive use of foreign scientific-technical experience. It was borrowed chiefly in the sectors of industry which ensured a high economic growth rate and the efficient reorganization of the structure of the economy. Together with this there was a gradual unfolding of its own R&D. And, finally, priority was given applied R&D, while fundamental research was up to a certain time relegated to the rear. Private companies engaged in a wide-ranging program of purchases on a commercial basis of foreign knowledge and experience were the main engine of technical progress.

In terms of the number of purchased patents and licenses Japan has long occupied the leading place in the capitalist world. New foreign technology was acquired predominantly for the base sectors of industry (metallurgy, shipbuilding and auto assembly, chemicals and others) and the manufacture of mass standardized products. A singularity of the innovation process was that many foreign scientific-technical developments were not only rapidly assimilated in production but were preliminarily raised by Japanese specialists to a higher level than the originals.

Thus in actively participating in international scientific-technical cooperation Japan was able to turn it into a powerful factor of saving resources and time and of stimulating growth. Approximately 34,000 instances of Japanese companies' acquisition of foreign technology, payments for the use of which constituted approximately \$11.1 billion,² were recorded in fiscal years 1950/51-1970/80. Of this number the United States accounted for 56.1 percent, the FRG for 8.9 percent and Britain for 6.2 percent. By the start of the 1970's products manufactured on the basis of the use of foreign technology constituted 10 percent of total industrial production and 25-30 percent in the most advanced sectors.³

The skillful combination of the said singularities of scientific-technical policy both within the country and in international exchange enabled Japan to rapidly overcome its technical backwardness. According to various estimates, particularly of the Science and Technology Agency, in terms of the degree of production's technical provision it had reached the level of the West European countries by the start of the 1970's.

At the same time negative aspects of such a scientific-technical policy were revealed also. The innovation process in the country was geared mainly to the development and improvement of various types of product and to a lesser extent to the retooling of production. As a result it assumed the form to a considerable extent of numerous improvements of mass and standardized products which did not require a broad fundamental research base. This may partially explain the fact that approximately 80 percent of the inventions registered in the country are not original but improved versions of old patents. The main reliance on the use of foreign patents and licenses caused the comparatively low level of creative assertiveness of scientific personnel both in Japan itself and at its enterprises abroad. Fundamental research, half of which is performed at universities and other higher educational institutions, proved insufficiently efficient. Because of this the biggest innovations of a fundamental character appeared in the country usually 4-5 and sometimes 6 years late.

The appreciable structural shifts in the world capitalist economy throughout the 1970's caused by the economic and also acute structural crises revealed the weak aspects of the Japanese model of scientific-technical development particularly strongly. For this reason under the conditions of the toughening of competition on world markets and the deterioration of the possibilities of acquiring advanced foreign technology, primarily in the United States, Japan was forced to begin to revise its scientific-technical strategy. While the important role of scientific-technical imports was preserved there was a sharp increase in its own spending on R&D. There was increased state participation in scientific-technical policy. Japan began to gradually expand the front of scientific research, abandoning the previous concentration of efforts in terms of individual and narrow areas.

In the 1970's Japan first of all considerably reinforced the base of its own R&D. Overall expenditure thereon from 1970 through 1980 increased from \$3.8 billion to \$20 billion, as a result of which the country emerged in second place in the capitalist world (after the United States) in this indicator. In the aggregate spending on industrial R&D of the OECD countries its share rose in the period 1967-1976 from 6 percent to 12 percent and the share of the Common Market countries from 25 percent to 29 percent, while the relative significance of the United States declined from 62 to 49 percent. By 1986 Japan proposes to increase spending on R&D to 4 percent of GNP (roughly \$50-60 billion), which will enable it leave the West European states far behind and directly approach the United States.

In terms of the relative and absolute number of workers employed in the R&D sphere also Japan has outdistanced the West European countries and is approaching the United States. In 1977 the total number of its scientists and engineers per 10,000 of employed persons constituted 50, in the FRG 40, in France 30 and in the United States 57. Some 496,000 persons are employed in the sphere of science and technology alone in Japan.

Shifts have also been discerned in the structure of expenditure to this end. The proportion of expenditure on fundamental research of a fundamental nature from the viewpoint of scientific-technical strategy is gradually rising (to 4.8 percent in the 1970/80 fiscal year). At the same time the relative significance of experimental-design work (77.1 percent) and applied developments (18.1 percent) remains extraordinarily high. In terms of the appropriations allocated for R&D (excluding military programs) Japan has come very close to the FRG, having overtaken the United States, France and other highly developed capitalist countries.⁴

With the state's participation a number of important scientific-research projects was completed successfully in the 1970's, the superlarge integrated circuit being developed, inter alia, which made it possible to embark on the extensive manufacture of industrial electronics products. The manufacture of fourth-generation computers has considerably increased the hardware of production processes. Japan's electronics industry has become the most developed and diversified in the capitalist world. In addition, according to OECD estimates, Japan also has the most consistent program of the sector's development of all the industrial states.

The basic developments of a representational data-processing system whose assimilation could revolutionize the use of computer and information technology in various sectors of the economy, have been completed. Methods of automating many production processes, with the use of microelectronics and industrial manipulators included, have been assimilated in practice.

The large-scale production of microprocessors, with which up to 90 percent of new models of machine tools with digital program control and industrial robots are being fitted, has been set up in the country. Japan has become a leader in this sphere also. From 1968, when the production of industrial manipulators began, through 1981 approximately 75,000 of them--half of all those employed in the capitalist world--were produced.⁵

Importance is attached to the sharp increase throughout the 1970's in the level of machine-tool building. More than half of the machine tools manufactured in the country are fitted with program control systems. Japan has captured the leading positions in the production of machine centers uniting several machine tools which can be operated by a single person or robot. Some 5,230 such centers (first place in the world) had been created in 1979.⁶ However, the plans for the further "robotization" of industry are giving rise to increasingly great disquiet in the country inasmuch as the number of "surplus" people is increasing. After all, each robot leaves an average of 3-4 persons without a job and a machine center 15-20 persons.

Definite successes have been achieved in streamlining equipment and, particularly, techniques in metallurgy, shipbuilding, agriculture, semiconductor production, petrochemistry, certain subsectors of pharmaceutical industry and others. This is explained to a considerable extent by the large-scale appropriations for scientific developments, in the volume of which in certain sectors (auto assembly, metallurgy and chemicals) Japan has overtaken the other capitalist countries.

The final aspect of the appropriations has been secured to a considerable extent by the fact that Japanese companies spend on direct military developments comparatively less than the United States and other NATO members. Little more than 2-3 percent also is officially earmarked from state appropriations for military research. However, high-quality equipment for the organization of the large-series production of military equipment has been accumulated in the large-scale engineering, electronics and electrical engineering and shipbuilding companies fulfilling military orders. Certain circles regard the development of military production as a stimulus to the country's technical and technological developments.

It should also be borne in mind that the bulk of state appropriations for R&D is channeled into research in the sphere of nuclear power, space and electronic systems which contribute to an increase in military potential. In particular, lengthy research in the sphere of the treatment of nuclear fuel culminated at the end of the 1970's in the development of national technology. A plant built on this basis is capable of performing all types of uranium-treatment operations. Japan's successes in this sphere are so pronounced that in May 1980 the United States and Britain demanded that it tighten control over the export of nuclear technology and also the corresponding equipment.⁷

The aerospace industry, in terms of whose technical level Japan has moved very close to France (21 satellites have already been launched), has made certain progress. In the 1980's it is planned to create special industrial companies for the production of rockets and also communications systems. On the pretext of studying the solar system and near-earth plasma Japan's cooperation with NATO is broadening for this purpose. The long-standing research of Japanese companies and state establishments in the sphere of equipment and technology not only of civilian but also military application has advanced Japan in a number of areas into leading positions in the capitalist world.

It is not fortuitous that the U.S. Administration has sought to obtain from Japan documentation for the production of large integrated circuits and microprocessors, which the American side proposes using in air and antiship defense, particularly in laser and infrared missile-guidance systems. In addition, the R. Reagan administration actively aspires to include Japan in a new "antimissile space system" based on the use of laser weapons.⁸ Despite the public's opposition and in spite of the Diet's decisions banning exports of equipment and technology of a military application, the Y. Nakasone government has consented to make it available to the United States. A dangerous precedent has been set, as a result of which Japanese companies are being incorporated directly in military developments under way in the United States and military research is being stimulated in Japan itself.

Y. Nakasone's program speeches contain statements concerning the accelerated buildup of the might of the country's armed forces and a strengthening of the military alliance with Washington. Japanese militarist circles have stepped up actions aimed at participation in the Pentagon's military preparations and expansion in Southeast Asia and Oceania. All this together with the processes of the integration of military and civil production, the buildup of the growth rate of the military industry and its increased relative significance and scientific-technical level are reason to believe that Japan's ruling circles are speeding up the formation of a military-industrial complex.

Besides the development of the production of conventional military equipment in the country, Japanese companies are organizing cooperation in the production of aircraft, helicopters and other aviation equipment with West German, British, Italian and Swedish firms. It is significant that the level of the corresponding developments in Japan is so high that it is the foreign partners, as a rule, which propose cooperation. Some Japanese companies are participating in arms production on the territory of South Korea. Japanese industrial companies' emergence on the world market as military equipment exporters is entirely possible in the mid-1980's.

The State and the Organization of R&D

Throughout the postwar period official scientific-technical policy has been geared to the accomplishment of this specific task or the other which has confronted state-monopoly capitalism. The state's activity was stepped up particularly in the latter half of the 1970's, when questions of scientific-technical progress under the conditions of the structural reorganization of the country's economy became a key direction of the country's further development.

The state implemented large-scale measures with respect to the organization of scientific research and its financing, the dissemination of advanced scientific-technical experience and the performance of new research.

First of all, the network of state scientific research institutes and laboratories was reorganized and special research centers were set up in all the leading sectors of industry. As a result a system of scientific research establishments covering the entire country was operating in Japan by the start of the 1980's. A scientific council--deliberative body determining the arterial paths of the development of science and technology--functions under the auspices of the prime minister. The prime minister heads the Council for Science and Technology, which formulates long-term plans in this sphere and the ways to implement them. Direct leadership of scientific policy is entrusted to the Science and Technology Agency, which is headed by a minister. In addition, it coordinates the activity of approximately 100 state scientific research institutes under the departmental jurisdiction of the appropriate ministries. The biggest of them are the Japanese Atomic Energy Research Institute and the Corporation for the Development of Energy Resources and Nuclear Fuel. Each of these establishments employs more than 2,000 assistants. However, the bulk of the research is performed in comparatively small (up to 100 men) laboratory-institutes.

The influential Ministry of Foreign Trade and Industry (MFTI) includes a science and technology department which leads special engineering, electronics and other laboratories, polymer and pharmaceutical institutes and also seven regional institutes and laboratories in different parts of the country. Local scientific research centers (more than 500) specializing in certain developments of an applied nature in food industry, ceramics, pulp and paper and so forth engineering, metallurgy and agriculture operate in the prefectures. The centers are directly connected with industrial enterprises and give them advice and other assistance.

At the same time the state has assumed the role of active vector in industry of new equipment and technology and created a special system of monitoring the national innovations market. It is headed by the New Equipment Development Corporation, which exercises intermediary functions, mainly for the fulfillment of large-scale national scientific-technical projects. A state technology transfer center financed from the budget was set up in 1978. Its main task is to promote the accelerated exchange and dissemination of new technological developments among industrial companies. Its functions also include actively promoting the introduction of new technical developments in production. The center purchases from individuals and industrial firms and abroad licenses and technical innovation patents and offers them to Japanese companies.

Direct state financing of R&D performed by industrial companies has expanded appreciably. Thus upon the creation and streamlining of the superlarge integrated circuit the state covered up to 40 percent of the expenditure, upon implementation of the "operational system for computers of the next generation" program 50 percent and in respect of the creation of optical-electronic integrated circuits program 45 percent, upon the creation of robot models up to two-thirds and so forth. In addition, the private sector obtains financial assistance in the form of special subsidies, tax privileges and credit. Assistance is also rendered legislatively. The "Law on Promoting the

Development of Certain Directions of the Information Industry and Engineering," in accordance with which higher-than-usual depreciation rules have been determined for specialized companies, was passed in 1978, for example. The government is encouraging the consolidation of national companies in this sphere and implementing a whole number of measures to increase their competitiveness.

The MFTI's Science and Technology Department has drawn up a list (renewable annually) of research topics and also products whose manufacturer-companies are given assistance in the form of favorable credit and tax liability. In particular, firms developing or manufacturing new products are granted tax deductions of the order of 25 percent and, for certain types, 50 percent of their overall expenditure on R&D. Companies which have organized the production of particularly important products are allowed in the first year of their manufacture for the market to increase direct depreciation deductions up to 25 percent of the total sales volume.⁹

The government has begun to extend special credit to companies which plan to streamline technology with the use of industrial robots. A program of state assistance to the engineering sectors in the organization of scientific R&D and the practical assimilation of its results is being implemented.

The policy of the state's encouragement of R&D has noticeably galvanized the activity of the private sector in the sphere of science and technology, it accounting for approximately two-thirds of total resources spent on R&D. Scientific R&D has come to be regarded as the key factor of commercial success. R&D departments headed, as a rule, by their presidents have been set up in the overwhelming majority of big and medium-sized companies. A certain unity of the general principles of company management and leadership of the innovation process is achieved by this combination.

A special organizational structure is employed in the majority of cases in the performance of R&D in the companies. Groups of 5-10 persons set up in individual production sectors or engaged in the solution of organizations and technical-economic problems common to all the services are given preference. An important part is played by data support for all elements of the organizational structure of the R&D with the help of centralized knowledge banks and peripheral apparatus. Each specialist has access to the data contained in the computer.¹⁰

Great significance is attached to marketing. The start of R&D is usually preceded by a detailed analysis of the market and an evaluation of an enterprise's production potential. The temporary transfer of part of the scientific research personnel to the shops and marketing departments to ensure continuity of the developers' efforts at the production and sales stage and take account of consumer requirements in greater detail is a frequent practice.

Quite strong scientific-technical potential had been created and certain successes had been scored in a number of branches of science and technology, the exercise of applied R&D and a streamlining of the techniques of certain production processes in Japan by the end of the 1970's. All this serves as

the material and organizational basis for the country's quest for a new place in the international division of labor based on the production of science-intensive and technically intricate products.

Directions of R&D in the 1980's

The priorities in scientific-technical development for the 1980's and subsequent years are connected to a considerable extent with the country's economic position, which had deteriorated sharply. The rate of increase of GNP declined from 8.1 percent in 1979 to 2.6 percent in 1982 and that of industrial production from 8.3 to 1.4 percent. Production spending is in a state of stagnation, and the economy as a whole is experiencing a prolonged and deep recession. Only in the sectors oriented toward the manufacture of science-intensive and technically intricate products is the situation somewhat better. According to a poll of leading companies, bioengineering, the production of automated equipment, primarily microprocessors, and the development of optical-electronic communications are viewed as the most promising spheres of the activity of Japanese business.

As far as the state is concerned, an analysis of the appropriate documents shows that certain changes are planned in its scientific-technical strategy. Their essence amounts to the following. Internal R&D and not the borrowing of foreign scientific-technical experience, as was the case earlier, is being made the cornerstone. It is planned to concentrate applied R&D for the new powerful development of mechatronics (use of electronic apparatus in machine processing) and technotronics (use of electronics in production engineering processes). There will be an appreciable increase in the appropriations for fundamental research and a rise in the level thereof. At the same time great attention will be paid to the search for and borrowing of advanced science and technology abroad and an increase in national patent and license exports.

Specifically, 11 large-scale state programs will be implemented. In particular, the search for new energy sources with emphasis on the use of atomic energy and nuclear synthesis, solar energy and such will continue. It is planned to create powerful breeder reactors and also gas-cooled reactors, thermonuclear synthesis installations and so forth. It is proposed allocating this program, named "Solar Light," over \$4 billion before the end of the century. Japanese companies have already embarked on the mass production of installations for heating homes with the aid of solar energy; developments with respect to the use of the energy of tidal waves and sea breakers have attained a very high level.

In conjunction with the private sector the state intends to stimulate the development of energy- and material-saving technology and intensify efforts in the sphere of microbiology and bioengineering and pharmaceuticals. The MFTI has drawn up the 10-year (1981-1990) "Lunar Light" program. One of its most important directions, for which 120 billion yen (\$500 million) are allocated, is the acceleration of work on bioengineering (31 billion yen, approximately \$130 million). It is proposed concentrating efforts here on the possibilities of the use of bioengineering resources for the manufacture of finished specimens and on the problems of genetic and cellular engineering.¹¹

Some 20.7 billion yen (roughly \$87 million) were allocated in the 1981/2 fiscal year alone within the framework of the "Lunar Light" program for research into the creation of superstrength and heat-resistant fine ceramics, elements with superconductivity and industrial biological reactors. In addition, intensive research is planned in the sphere of complex polymers, high-molecular compounds, crystal structures and so forth, for which it is proposed to allocate 10 billion yen (approximately \$42 million) in the next 5 years.

Work is being accelerated on the program for the use of biological and mineral resources of the sea and ocean. It is planned to spend over a period of 7 years, beginning 1981, \$105 million on the development of technology which will make it possible to work 40,000 square kilometers of the seabed and obtain approximately 3 million tons of concretions annually. It is possible to extract from such a quantity of matter, according to calculations, roughly 375,000 tons of manganese, 39,000 tons of copper, 35,000 tons of nickel and 4,000 tons of cobalt.¹²

Within the framework of the program for the study of outer and circumterrestrial space it is planned to create new types of space equipment (artificial earth satellites, carrier rockets, space laboratories and platforms and so forth). It is proposed, inter alia, to launch on the basis of close cooperation with the United States the first Japanese astronauts, send Japanese automatic rockets to other objects of the solar system and so forth. A project for launching a spy satellite to observe the territory of neighboring states, which will cost \$85 million,¹³ is being developed.

Great attention in the plans of the development of science and technology is paid to the further spread of applied research in various sectors of industry, primarily in electronics and engineering. The MFTI has headed work on the creation of test shops and enterprises with full automation of all production processes. Thus with the participation of the Nippon (kokan) metallurgical company the construction has begun of an automated plant in Ogisi with an annual capacity of 6.5 million tons of rolled metal. It is planned here on the basis of "low-manpower technology" to automate all production processes--from the composition of the blend to the appearance of the steel section. Work is being performed on the creation of an automated plant in engineering at which all the production processes, including assembly processes, will be directed by a group of only five persons.

It is proposed putting particular emphasis on the further development of production electronics, which is regarded as the basis of the broadest automation in all sectors of industry. The corresponding program will cost 13 billion yen (approximately \$54 million). A most important place in production will be occupied by industrial manipulators, which will be used in processing industry (for automatic welding, the machining of products under complex production conditions and so forth); in attractive industry and transport (for soil haulage, extraction of raw material, dangerous operations on the railroads and ship loading and unloading); and in agriculture (for the sowing, watering and application of fertilizer, drainage operations and distribution of feed and water to the livestock). In the (Khitati) company alone 500 leading specialists are employed in the realization of a plan to create an "intellectual" robot for assembly operations.

It is also planned to use robots in the development of the ocean and space and for environmental protection. The possibilities of the use of robots at enterprises in order to obviate a halt during the lunch break to the production process and extend it 2-3 hours after the end of the work day are being studied in practice. It is proposed to increase the manufacture of industrial robots annually by 40-50 percent and raise it in 1985 to 300 billion yen (approximately \$1.3 billion). On the basis of electronics industry important processes of its organizational integration with companies of electrical engineering industry and also general machine building will be further developed, and there will be a rise in their technical level.

The implementation of a joint project of private capital and government organizations with respect to the development of optical-electronic integrated circuits began in the fall of 1981. A special scientific research institute for the purpose of developing the base technology of these circuits up to 1986 has been set up to coordinate the research. It is planned to allocate 70 billion yen (approximately \$300 million) for the project. As a whole, Japan intends to use its main advantage in the scientific-technical sphere--the short introduction times of the results of R&D in production--in these areas, which are central from the viewpoint of the scientific-technical revolution.

At the state-monopoly level the task has been set of creating an "information society"¹⁴ by the year 2000. The immediate plans of a special government committee for computerization provide for the mass introduction of computers in all spheres of the economy, science, technology and social life. A fundamental transformation of the data-processing system based on computers is considered the basic lever of the transformation of the present "industrial society" into the "information society". State-monopoly capitalism connects the need for such a transformation with the existence of acute socioeconomic problems. Specially distinguished among these is the trend toward a decline in the norm of capital accumulation and the economic growth rate, the need for a reorganization of the structure of the economy, the growth in the number of unemployed, the sharp aging of the population and others.

The government is putting particular hopes in the development of fundamental research in the scientific research center in Tsukuba, a suburb of Tokyo. Its construction was begun in 1970 and had been completed, in the main, by the start of the 1980's. Subsequently it is proposed completing here the creation of a scientific research complex made up of 43 state institutes, laboratories and academic institutions. Its cost is put at \$5-6 billion. Adopting to a considerable extent the experience of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Siberian Department and its academic township, Japanese specialists are engaging in Tsukuba in comprehensive research with respect to large-scale and costly projects in the sphere of atomic energy, plasma, the MHD-generator, solid state physics and others in order in a short time to eliminate the lag behind the United States and the USSR. A considerable proportion of the specialists will be trained in the complex itself on the basis of nationwide selection of the most gifted young people.

The government intends to supplement the Tsukuba experience by the creation in the suburbs of big cities of technopolises--industrial zones in which

enterprises with modern technology will be concentrated. As before, much attention will be paid to borrowing foreign scientific-technical experience and the problems connected with the country's participation in international scientific-technical exchange. The transition of Japanese companies to purposeful and long-term cooperation with foreign partners on different levels of economic activity which has been discerned is being stepped up. There will be somewhat of a decline in the role of license exchange here, but the role of Japanese companies' direct interfirm cooperation with foreign companies will increase.

The United States' role as the main foreign source of scientific-technical knowledge for Japan will be maintained. Japan's scientific-technical dependence on the United States is an important component of these two countries' military-political alliance, in which Japan's loyalty serves as a kind of payment for Japanese monopolies' access to the United States' latest scientific-technical achievements. This was confirmed once again by Japanese Prime Minister Y. Nakasone's visit to the United States (January 1983), when in exchange for his promise to increase military spending the United States agreed to cooperate in the conquest of space.

Despite the fact that the competition of Japanese and American companies in the production of science-intensive and technically intricate products has increased and the overall conditions of obtaining American scientific-technical experience have deteriorated, a trend toward large-scale joint research has been strengthening since the end of the 1970's, and a new stage of the exchange of scientific-technical achievements is planned.

An unprecedented agreement was concluded at the start of 1981 between the Japanese Telegraph and Telephone Corporation and the American IBM on virtually a complete mutual exchange of patents and licenses.¹⁵ A similar agreement was concluded between Matsushita (Denki) and IBM on the joint production of small computers. The Nissan (dzidosya) and Ford motor companies reached an agreement on auto research and production. It cannot be ruled out that new Japanese-American automobile, computer, aircraft and so forth models will appear on world markets in the 1980's. This combination of the strong aspects of the scientific-technical programs of the United States (primarily the high level of fundamental research) and Japan (first-class developments and the rapid introduction of innovations in mass production) could lead to a new redistribution of forces on world markets between the monopolies of the leading capitalist countries.

The structural and geographical changes brought about by the rise in the general technical level of Japanese industry will continue in Japanese companies' international license exchange. As a whole, the proportion of the technical developments which are connected with the modernization and improvement of technology purchased earlier will probably increase in Japan's foreign license imports. Correspondingly, there will be a decline in the proportion of technology entirely new for the country. This is understandable: whereas in the past Japan purchased from the United States and other states equipment which was for them a bygone stage to a certain extent, it is now no longer satisfied with obsolete equipment. Acquisition of the latest foreign patents, on the other hand, is either not always possible or is attended by very great expense and difficulty.

The rise in the general technical-economic level of industry, the development of its own R&D and also certain successes in the training of scientific research personnel are enabling Japan to appreciably expand exports of its own scientific-technical achievements.

An ever increasing role in international scientific-technical cooperation will be performed by agreements at intergovernmental level, which extend, in the main, to fundamental research of a theoretical nature and such problems as the quest for new types of energy, the development of power engineering, environmental protection and others. The main place here, as in scientific-technical exchange at the private level, is retained by the United States, with which Japan has concluded a number of important agreements. Intergovernmental agreements on scientific-technical cooperation with the emerging countries tied in, as a rule, with reciprocal supplies on a long-term basis of raw material commodities, particularly oil, in very short supply will be further developed.

The buildup of scientific-technical potential is linked in Japan not only with the structural reorganization of the economy and a strengthening of the positions of the national monopolies on world markets but also with the accomplishment of important socioeconomic tasks. The Japanese bourgeoisie is increasing the exploitation of the working people with the aid of new methods and new forms, endeavoring to effect the "intellectual enslavement" of the people and make even more extensive use of its gifts and diligence to strengthen the existing socioeconomic order. On the other hand, in publicizing certain positive changes in the position of the working class the ruling circles are attempting to prove the "prosperity" of the nation and, consequently, of the proletariat and distract it from active and persistent struggle for fundamental socioeconomic changes in the country. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that it is precisely the Kaidanren--the leading organization of monopoly capital--which is demanding of the government an increase in appropriations for R&D, regarding it not only as an important factor of the national monopolies' scientific-technical competitiveness but also as a new and efficient means of social maneuvering.

However, implementation of the ambitious programs in the sphere of science and technology cannot fail to encounter considerable difficulties. Under the conditions of the prolonged economic recession and the crisis of state finances the possibilities of the state and the private sector are appreciably reduced. There has been an extraordinary exacerbation of the conflicts with the trading partners and a weakening of Japan's positions on foreign markets. Scientific-technical achievements themselves, outside of the context of production relations and the social conditions of their realization, are incapable of solving the acute problems confronting Japan.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Kagaku gidzyutsu khakuse," Tokyo, 1980, p 1; "80 nenday-no tsusan seysaku bidzen," Tokyo, 1980, p 82.
2. Estimated from "Vaga kuni-no kenkyu kaykhatsu tosi-no gen-dze," Tokyo, 1978, p 8; "Dzaysey kin'yu tokey geppo," Tokyo, 1979, p 77; "The Japan Economic Yearbook," Tokyo, 1981, p 60.

3. K. Ohkawa, H. Rosovski, "The Japanese Economic Growth," Stanford, 1973, pp 237-238.
4. "Science Indicators," Washington, 1979, p 144; R. Faramazyan, V. Borisov, "The Burden of Militarism and the Vital Interests of the Peoples" (MEMO No 5, 1981, p 29).
5. The JAPAN TIMES 24 April 1981 (the figures are overstated for Japanese statistics also include in the number of robots the simplest manipulators).
6. "Kikay tokey nempo," Tokyo, 1981, p 248.
7. See NIKHON KEYDZAY SHIMBUN 15 May 1980.
8. THE JAPAN ECONOMIC JOURNAL 13 January 1981, p 3; ASAHI SHIMBUN 5 February 1981.
9. SCIENCE 2 May 1980, p 449; DENSI KOGE GEPPPO No 2, 1980, pp 6-7.
10. RESEARCH MANAGEMENT vol 23, No 1, 1980, pp 39-41.
11. NIKHON KEYDZAY SHIMBUN 7 July 1981. Here and subsequently yen are converted into dollars at the rate of 240 yen to the dollar.
12. ASAHI EVENING NEWS 20 March 1981.
13. THE JAPAN TIMES 11 February 1982.
14. See A.A. Prokhozhev, "Organization of Control of the Economy and the State in Japan," Moscow, 1977, pp 94-109.
15. THE JAPAN ECONOMIC JOURNAL 3 March 1981, p 13.

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MARXISM MUST DEVELOP TO EXPLAIN NEW FEATURES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 6,
Jun 83 pp 59-65

[Paper read at all-union conference by V. Martynov: "K. Marx' Economic Teaching and Contemporary Capitalism"]

[Text] In 1983 all progressive mankind will commemorate the 165th anniversary of the birth and centennial of the death of K. Marx. Marx's inestimable service is that he revealed for the first time from class standpoints the essence of the capitalist mode of production. His creative legacy, which was further developed in the words of V.I. Lenin, even today serves as the key in a study of the economic and social problems of contemporary imperialism and provides the key to an understanding of the processes occurring not only in the national economies but also in the capitalist world as a whole. The truly scientific methodology of Marxism-Leninism makes it possible to reveal the aggressive, exploiter and militarist thrust of the policies of the governments of the leading capitalist states.

A session of the "Marxist-Leninist Theory and Topical Problems of World Economic and Political Development" Section, which worked within the framework of the all-union scientific conference devoted to the memory of K. Marx, was held in March 1983 in the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economy and International Relations. The MEMO editorial office offers readers material presented at the conference.

Opening the session of our section, I would like first of all to emphasize that the teaching of Karl Marx is the greatest conquest of human thought. It is also the most influential ideological current in the history of world civilization. The very rich content of Marxism-Leninism and its most profound meaning and strength and scale of influence on the course of history are revealed increasingly with the years and decades, particularly in our era, which has brought it unprecedented triumph. Having taken possession of millions-strong masses, it has become the material force of the revolutionary renewal and transformation of the world and the banner of the people of labor on our planet, the ascendant class which is liberating both itself and all mankind from exploitation.

Dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and the theory of class struggle for socialism and communism are represented and inseparably blended, as in a single alloy, in Marxism in an organic integrity. Two of K. Marx's greatest discoveries--the materialist understanding of history and the theory of surplus value--afforded the opportunity to convert socialism from a utopia into a science, to explain with the utmost precision the inevitability of class struggle and to elucidate the world-financial role of the proletariat as the gravedigger of capitalism and the creator of the new, socialist society.

Defining the subject and method of the science and its content, social purpose and development prospects, Marx approached it not only as a scholar but also as a great revolutionary practitioner. He regarded science as a mighty lever of history and a revolutionary force in the highest meaning of this world. He was concerned most of all with ensuring that science serve as a means of the liberation of the working class. Marx's very great vital exploit as a man of science, brilliant thinker and, together with this, leader of the revolutionary movement of the masses who was full of indomitable energy is revealed strikingly and at the same time laconically in Yu.V. Andropov's article "The Teaching of Karl Marx and Certain Questions of Socialist Building in the USSR".

A most outstanding and truly immortal service of Marx was the creation of the integral teaching on the emergence, development and fall of the capitalist mode of production. The economic teaching, which serves as the truly scientific substantiation of the revolutionary struggle and liberation of the proletariat, represents, as is known, the main content and main component of Marxism.

K. Marx accomplished a revolutionary coup in political economy and turned it into a class-based, proletarian science. He revealed the deep-lying essence of capitalism and the basic law of its movement--the law of surplus value. "The teaching on surplus value," V.I. Lenin emphasized, "is the cornerstone of Marx's economic theory." Investigating capitalism in the unity of the movement of individual and public capital and analyzing the process of capitalism production taken as a whole, Marx revealed not only the mechanism of the capitalist economy but also the historical trend of capitalist accumulation: "Monopoly capital becomes the shackles of the mode of production which has grown up along with and under it. The centralization of means of production and the socialization of labor reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist outer covering. It bursts. The death knell of capitalist private ownership is sounded. The expropriators are expropriated."

The integral system of historically and logically connected categories of the political economy of capitalism created by Marx was never an academic and, even less, kind of frozen outline for Marxism has always studied and continues to study production relations in the process of their change and development and is for this reason of an active creative nature. After the death of Marx and Engels, Marxist political economy was creatively developed under the new historical conditions by V.I. Lenin. Lenin's theory of

imperialism is a direct continuation of Marx's teaching. Lenin revealed the nature of the domination of the monopolies and finance capital and the contradictions and regularities of the development of monopoly capitalism. To his very great credit is the elaboration of the theoretical propositions concerning the growth of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism and the essence of state-monopoly capitalism. His works contain the foundations of the theory of the general crisis of capitalism. Lenin's proposition concerning the most profound interconnection of the decline and fall of capitalism with the emergence and growth of the new social system--socialism--is a permanent value.

Contemporary state-monopoly capitalism represents a superstructure over the old capitalism. The deep-lying essence of capitalism--the domination of capitalist ownership of the means of production, capital's exploitation of wage labor and the appropriation of surplus value--remains constant in our era also. Also of a fundamental nature is Marx's theoretical proposition on the fundamental problems of capitalist reproduction, the economic cycle and crises, competition and ground rent.

The new forms of capitalist socialization connected with the development of the monopolies and state-monopoly capitalism cannot, as V.I. Lenin showed, finally supersede the old ones; they exist alongside and above them. However, the new system of capitalist economic relations which thus takes shape is formed hierarchically, and within the framework of this system the previous forms of capitalist socialization prove limited and subordinate to the new forms.

Marxist-Leninist political economy is a uniform integral science of present-day capitalism. Yu.V. Andropov's words saying that "outside of and apart from Leninism Marxism in our time is simply impossible" apply fully to political economy, as to the other components of Marxism-Leninism also.

Marxist-Leninist political economy performs the role of general theory, serves as the point of departure for a study of the latest changes in the economics and politics of present-day capitalism and provides the method of this study.* The methodology created by Marx consists of the application of materialist dialectics and the principles of historical materialism to an analysis of the economic process and social phenomena generally and to a critique of bourgeois views. This makes it possible not only to understand and explain what is happening but also scientifically foresee the future. This methodology was brilliantly applied and developed in Lenin's works. The classic writers of Marxism-Leninism always paid paramount attention here to the need, first, to distinguish the main trends and contradictions of the development of the given mode of production and the given era and, second, for a specific analysis of the specific situation and an investigation of the individual, particular and general in economic and all social development and in the alignment of classes and social and political forces at each given moment and in each given country.

* For more detail see L. Abalkin, "Marx's Political Economy and the Methodology of an Analysis of Contemporary Capitalism," MEMO No 2, 1983.

Of course, there has been a fundamental change in the picture of the world in the 100 years which have elapsed since the death of Marx. The main trends and regularities of contemporary world development are currently determined by the development of socialism, the strengthening of the positions of the international working class and the intensification of the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle, whereas imperialism has irretrievably lost its former dominating role in the world. Such is the central feature of our era, whose main contradiction is that between socialism and imperialism. In this transitional era, when the question of the revolutionary replacement of the political domination of the bourgeoisie by the power of the working class and the entire working people on a world scale has long been on the historical agenda, priority in the strategy of world imperialism is given to a policy aimed at preserving the capitalist practices where they are as yet preserved. The political approach also predominates increasingly often over all others in this connection. Taking this into consideration, we must proceed upon an analysis of imperialism from the fact that economic relations remain in our time also ultimately decisive and, in F. Engels' words, are the keynote which permeates all development. For this reason particular importance is attached to a comprehensive study of the economic, social, political and ideological problems of contemporary capitalism.

Turning to an analysis of its economy, it should be emphasized that the end of the 1970's and the start of the 1980's brought a sharp deterioration. Currently it may be asserted with complete justification that a period of the profound destabilization of capitalism has begun.

Convincing testimony to this are the prolonged world crises shaking the capitalist economy increasingly often; the groundlessness of the system of state-monopoly regulation which took shape in the first postwar decades which has been revealed; and the sharp exacerbation of interimperialist conflicts. Unemployment has assumed gigantic proportions, and there has been an appreciable decline in the working people's real income for the first time in the past three decades. The social and political polarization of capitalist society has increased. All these processes have been manifested particularly graphically in the course of the current economic crisis--the most prolonged crisis since the war.

Compared with the 1950's-1960's economic development has slowed down most considerably in the capitalist countries, there has been a marked decline in the labor productivity growth rate and the output-capital ratio is falling continuously. There has been a modification of the capitalist cycle: the phases of crisis and depression have lengthened and the phases of recovery and upturn have shortened. Factors connected with the cyclical renewal of fixed capital have proven weakened. Profound disproportions have also come to light in the development of the world capitalist economy.

An analysis of the current economic situation in the capitalist world leads to the conclusion that its historical limitedness is laid bare with particular clarity and actueness in periods of abrupt revolutionary changes and shifts in social production and throughout the system of the international capitalist division of labor. It is at this time that the subordination of production

to the goals of gain come into acute-conflict and lengthy confrontation with the social requirements of economic development, and as a consequence of the inevitable formation of the relative overaccumulation of fixed capital it depreciates and the profit norm falls. An analysis of these phenomena should be based on Marx's ideas concerning the law of the tendency of the profit norm to decline and the factors counteracting it and concerning the mechanism of the interconnection of the processes of the depreciation of capital and the movement of the profit norm with radical changes in social production and economic crises.

Marxism-Leninism regards the production forces as the source revolutionizing element of the mode of production. Marx, Engels and Lenin saw the main source of the intensification of the contradictions of the capitalist system here not in the stagnation of the production forces but in the conflict between the production forces and the production relations of capitalism, which is aggravated as the former develop.

Currently such an approach is particularly important for a number of interconnected reasons, first, the world has now entered a new stage of the scientific-technical revolution, when fundamental transformations of production and its means and methods, the subjects and products of labor and energy sources have begun in many respects, and as a result there is an unusual growth in the objective possibilities of an increase in the scale and rate of growth of labor productivity. Second, any serious leap forward in the development of the production forces is accomplished under capitalism via economic crises. Third, the connection between social, economic and scientific-technical development has become closer than ever before.

The new stage of the scientific-technical revolution encompasses the broadest spectrum of directions--from the development of new energy carriers and synthetic materials and the creation of technology of the energy-saving type and new equipment for the development of the oceans and the deep-lying strata of the earth, new generations of computers, microprocessors and industrial robots through automated planning and systems fundamental transformations of all forms of material processing, bioengineering, laser and plasma technology and the new stage in the conquest of space and the comprehensive solution of ecological problems. All this, particularly electronic automation, entails serious social consequences for the working people's masses. Many Western economists are predicting in this connection a huge growth of unemployment in the capitalist countries by the end of the century. The social problems of capitalism are assuming an increasingly acute nature.

The current scientific-technical revolution is being attended by deep-lying changes in the structure of social production and entailing a serious breakup of intersectorial proportions and major shifts in the international division of labor. Under the conditions of capitalism scientific-technical progress, Marx emphasized, is a means of the production of surplus value and is effected merely to this end. It sharply accelerates the process of the obsolescence of capital and inevitably leads to the increased discrepancy of the structure of accumulated capital and the new requirements of development. As a result the depreciation of accumulated capital, particularly in a number

of base sectors of production, assumes proportions which are huge and devastating for certain enterprises and firms. This process of the depreciation of capital brought about by scientific-technical progress is in the most acute contradiction with the nature of capital and its aspiration to an increase in value.

The relative overaccumulation of fixed capital and the reduction in the profit norm could not have failed to have had a negative impact on the entire course of capitalist reproduction. Monopoly capital encountered considerably constricted opportunities both for self-growth and for social maneuvering.

The present deterioration in the economic situation in the capitalist world is connected to a considerable extent with the exacerbation of the problems of the capitalist use of nature. This has been expressed in a complex interweave of such factors as the limitedness of natural resources suitable for development at the given level of prices, equipment and technology, the growing discrepancy between the location of the natural resources and the main centers of consumption and the rapacious use of resources inherent in the nature of capitalism. It is manifested in the crisis of the entire system of the international division of labor and its outer covering--the unequal international economic relations imposed by imperialism on the developing countries. And it is for this reason that in the mid-1970's capitalism encountered a number of serious structural crises--energy, raw material and food--which was an important cause of the growth of its economic instability.

The exacerbation of the contradictions of capitalism show graphically how far the process of the disintegration of this system has gone. At the same time a number of new phenomena testifies that possibilities of a certain adaptation thereof to the new present-day economic and political realities remain.

First, disposing of a highly organized and technically developed production apparatus, skilled manpower, huge resources and a powerful research base, imperialism retains possibilities of economic growth. It would be an error, we believe, to assume that Lenin's proposition that "as a whole, capitalism is growing immeasurably faster than before" has lost its force under current conditions.

Although it is most likely that the rate of increase in the gross domestic product and the industrial output of the main capitalist countries will remain relatively low in the 1980's as a whole, we cannot overlook the possibility that the development of new areas of scientific-technical progress could on the eve and at the outset of the 1990's lead to an appreciable rise in the profitability of capital investments and thereby lend impetus to a concentrated replacement of fixed capital on a new technical basis and contribute to an acceleration of the rate of growth of labor productivity and economic development.

Second, appreciable changes are occurring in the structure of monopoly capital. Some groups of finance capital are forfeiting their positions, others,

primarily connected with the new sectors and the military-industrial complex, are moving to the forefront. An important role in this process of adaptation belongs to the international monopolies. Particular significance in the capitalist world is attached to the American transnational corporations. The present aggressive policy of the United States is connected with their global interests to a considerable extent. They are the main force of present-day neocolonialism. However, from the trend of the accelerated concentration of economic might in the hands of the international monopolies it does not follow, in our view, that some new stage--"international monopoly capitalism"--is imminent. Such assertions, like the notorious ultra-imperialism proposition, fail to take account of the entire contradictoriness of the development of modern imperialism, particularly the fact that the struggle between the transnational corporations is inevitably developing on the soil and with the assistance of national imperialisms.

Important changes can be observed in the development of state-monopoly regulation.

A liberal-reformist trend stimulating private-capitalist accumulation and at the same time contributing to a certain strengthening of the social base of the ruling class predominated in the leading capitalist countries in the 1950's-1960's. The 1974-1975 economic crisis and the period of the further profound destabilization of capitalism which had begun marked the bankruptcy of the evolved system of state-monopoly regulation of the economy and its principles. As we have already noted, it was undermined basically by two factors. The first was that state-monopoly regulation, confined by the national boundaries of individual countries, proved incapable of adapting to the structural reorganization of the entire world capitalist economy which had begun and to the new level of internationalization of production and conditions of the accumulation of capital increasingly dependent on external circumstances. The second factor was that under the conditions of the stagflationary development of capitalism the groundlessness of the methods of state-monopoly regulation was revealed.

The failure of liberal reformism summoned into being two opposite trends--an intensification of conservative forms of policy in some countries (United States, Britain) and social-reformist forms in others (France, Sweden, Greece).

A conservative approach to economic policy has gained the ascendancy in countries where political forces of the right are in power. Conservative ideology is the ideology of chauvinism and anticommunism. This line in domestic economic policy--that of an open offensive against the working people's gains--is combined with an increase in military spending, aggressiveness in foreign policy and an abandonment of detente. Experience shows that conservatism is fraught with the risk of sharp exacerbation of the contradictions of capitalism and that it has by no means revealed prospects for genuine "economic recovery". It has achieved certain results only in one respect: in both Britain and the United States there has been somewhat of a slowing of price rises, but there has been an increase in unemployment to colossal proportions here and a decline in real wages. As a whole, the economic policy of both the British Tories and the U.S. Administration is obviously failing.

The development of state-monopoly regulation takes another direction where reformist forces in the shape of socialists have come to power. They are endeavoring to solve the acute economic and social problems on the paths of an expansion of the public sector and dirigisme. Combating unemployment and a reduction in income inequality is proclaimed the main task. Thus on assuming office the French socialists, with the support of the communists, implemented a number of measures of a social nature, completed the state takeover of the banking system and nationalized a number of industrial monopolies, which created certain opportunities for more assertive and and purposeful state influence on the economy. But it is as yet still too early to speak of the results of this policy. Unemployment remains high, and the rate of inflation is measured in double digits, as before. The partner in the "mixed economy"--private capital--is not rushing to support the reformist plans, despite the measures to stimulate its investment activeness adopted on the part of the French state.

So, what we have is a differentiation and profound transformation of the forms and systems of state-monopoly regulation and attempts to adapt them to the changed economic and political situation. However, the search for methods of more efficient regulation of the state-monopoly economy again shows convincingly that the crisis-free, truly plan-oriented development of the production forces is impossible on the basis of capitalist ownership of the means of production and that it is feasible only on the basis of public ownership.

K. Marx's principal great work, "Das Kapital," was, in the words of K. Marx himself, indisputably "the most terrible projectile" ever aimed at the head of the world revolutionary movement in our day also. Both scientific analysis and scientific criticism of contemporary state-monopoly capitalism, as the main direction of the struggle against bourgeois ideology, are, naturally, called on to reveal its true features and convincingly show and disclose its parasitical and dying nature. The exposure of present-day capitalism in the following directions would seem particularly relevant:

capitalist production relations impede scientific-technical progress and hinder the use of the fruits of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution in the interests of man and society;

condemning millions of people to unemployment, capitalism deprives them of the right to work and to human dignity;

the economic crises hitting the capitalist countries one after the other and inflation and unemployment are leading to an absolute decline in the working people's real income;

imperialism remains the exploiter of the peoples of the developing countries and is pursuing a policy of domination and compulsion in respect of emerging states and peoples; and

a creation of imperialism and its leading weapon is militarism--the main manifestation of the economic parasitism of present-day capitalism. With its

help the imperialist bourgeoisie is attempting to postpone its death, complicate the development of the socialist countries and hold back the inevitable transformations in the world.

At the center of critical analysis there should be, of course, the apologetic views of bourgeois economists on the fundamental problems of the economy and policy of present-day capitalism. In the overall context of the struggle against imperialist ideology particular importance is now attached to the exposure on the one hand of the attacks of bourgeois and revisionist "Sovietologists" on real socialism and, on the other, the concepts and schools of bourgeois political economy, sociology and political science which are used as justification for the rightwing-conservative change of governments of a number of capitalist countries and serve as a propaganda basis for the spread of reactionary, anticommunist and militarist ideas in the Western countries. And in this uncompromising ideological struggle we rely, as before, on the immortal ideas of Karl Marx.

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MISTAKES, PROBLEMS IN DRA LAND-WATER REFORM PROGRAM EXPLAINED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 6,
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[Vs. Semenov article: "Land-Water Reform in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan"]

[Text] The implementation of progressive socioeconomic transformations in Afghanistan, primarily the radical breakup of relations in the agrarian sector, began after the victory of the April revolution in 1978 and is taking place in a complex situation. Relying on counterrevolutionary elements which have settled in neighboring countries, imperialist circles and regional reaction have unleashed a regular undeclared war against the people's power, endeavoring to undermine the national-democratic system in the DRA. However, despite the intrigues of foreign and internal reaction, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), which 5 years ago headed the revolution which unveiled a new landmark in the history of the state, is continuing to consistently pursue a policy of the further stabilization of the situation in the country and implementing profound social transformations, winning the support of increasingly broad masses of the working people, primarily the peasantry.

I

The PDPA's agrarian policy was first formulated in the "National Democratic Program" published in the newspaper KHALEQ, the organ of the PDPA Central Committee, on 11 April 1966. An essential condition of the country's economic and social progress, the democratization of social life and the development of the production forces in the sphere of agricultural production, the program said, is liquidation of the existing production relations in agriculture by way of the implementation of democratic land reform.

The PDPA's agrarian policy ensued from an analysis of the socioeconomic relations in the countryside which had taken shape and from a recognition of the fact that these relations were an anachronism and the main impediment in the way of the development of agriculture and an improvement in the living conditions of the working peasants--the majority of the country's rural population--who had been choked from landlessness and land hunger and who were under the yoke of the landowners and feudal lords.

The total area of cultivated land, which prior to the April revolution was in private ownership, constituted approximately 4.5 million hectares, of which 2.34 million were irrigable and 2.16 million unirrigated. This land was distributed among its owners thus: the overwhelming majority of all landowners (91 percent) with allotments of up to 6 hectares had approximately 57 percent, in physical terms, of all land, while the 9 percent of families whose holdings exceeded 6 hectares had 43 percent of all cultivated land.

If, however, land tenure were calculated in terms of first-category land,¹ the situation would appear thus: more than 97 percent of all landowners with allotments of up to 6 hectares accounted for 71 percent of all land, whereas 35,000 families or 3 percent of landowners disposed of almost 29 percent of the land.²

Thus Afghanistan's agriculture was characterized by considerable vestiges of feudalism, the concentration of the bulk of and best-quality land in the possession of a small group of landowners and the existence of a vast army (up to 1 million families) of landless and land-hungry peasants and nomads ensnared by various forms of semifeudal exploitation. For this reason a principal problem which confronted the PDPA and which demanded immediate solution was the redistribution of land ownership in the interests of the poorest peasantry.

After the victory of the armed uprising of 27 April 1978, the course of the PDPA's agrarian policy was confirmed in the 9 May 1978 declaration "Basic Directions of the Revolutionary Tasks of the DRA Government" and concretely embodied in the land reform implemented as of 1 January 1979 in accordance with a number of legislative instruments enacted by the DRA Revolutionary Council. First of all, Revolutionary Council Edict 6 canceled the debts to landowners, feudal lords and usurers of approximately 11.5 million peasants; subsequently, in the period 1979-1981, the indebtedness of 860,000 peasant families in respect of land tax fines totaling 722 million afghanis was canceled.³ In the course of 1980-1982 the state rendered the peasants great assistance in terms of monetary credit, high-grade seeds, chemical fertilizers, agricultural implements, agents to combat livestock disease and herbicides.⁴

As far as the land reform as such which was implemented following the April revolution is concerned, it was defined by the following basic principles:

the land which belonged to the royal family was confiscated entirely;

surplus land which exceeded the maximum allotment (6 hectares of first-category land) determined by Edict 8 owned by a single landowner was alienated without the payment of compensation;

the land was handed over free to the landless and land-hungry peasants, agricultural workers and indigent nomads; and

the direct participation of representatives of the peasants, through the committees for solving peasant problems included, was provided for in the practical implementation of the reform.⁵

The principles by which the PDPA were guided in the implementation of the agrarian reform were cardinally different from the principles of the implementation of land reform under the M. Dawd regime in accordance with the 1975 law and reflected the essence of the national-democratic revolution. Their implementation was a major step forward in the evolution of agrarian relations in Afghanistan. At the same time, considering the present, national-democratic stage of the revolution and the historically evolved singularities of land tenure in the country, the PDPA preserved private land ownership.

In accordance with Edict 8, the right of tenure (that is, use and transfer by inheritance, article 4) was secured for the peasants who had obtained land free from the state in the course of implementation of the reform. For landowners who had land prior to this edict taking effect or who had purchased it after its promulgation not only right of tenure but also right of alienation (contract of sale, lease, deposit) were secured.⁶

Inasmuch as a considerable proportion of landless peasants and agricultural workers leave in wintertime to seek work in the city (and the latter generally change jobs often) there were fears that granting these persons right of alienation to the land that they had obtained might have entailed it being sold off. And since they had obtained free land alienated from other landowners without compensation, the sale of this land and it being leased or given as a deposit could have given rise to the serious dissatisfaction of the latter, and among them were not only landowners but middle peasants also. Besides, it has to be borne in mind that even according to the 1975 Land Reform Law, the peasant acquired the right of full ownership of the land that had been made available to him only after having paid off its entire value to the state.⁷

Prior to September 1979 some 666,000 hectares of land had been distributed among 269,000 basically landless and also a small number of land-hungry peasant families and 40,000 hectares had been transferred to state farmsteads and 25,000 hectares to the municipalities and certain state organizations. Thus 731,000 hectares of land had been distributed altogether.⁸

The success of the land reform program had been seriously impeded by various difficulties of an objective nature and mistakes and oversights caused by the lack of experience and inadequate qualifications of the personnel implementing the reform. In particular, the absence of a register of taxable land and reliable data on the quantity and quality of land suitable for agriculture, its provision with water and the location and volume of production of agricultural crops had an extremely negative effect on its implementation. The very important question of water supply to the allotments which the peasants had acquired had not been solved. Finally, the state authorities were not in a position to promptly grant the peasants financial and material-technical assistance countrywide.

The land reform was implemented in a complex domestic and foreign policy situation. The landowners and feudal lords, the corrupt bureaucracy and the most reactionary part of the clergy, with the direct support of imperialist

circles, conducted a bitter struggle against it, taking advantage here of the ignorance and wretchedness of the peasant masses, religious prejudice and even outright distortion of certain provisions of the Koran and Shar'ia.

There were also mistakes like incorrect determination of the size of the holdings when the question of the alienation of land surpluses was being decided, the granting of one and the same allotment of land to several peasant families, the unduly slow registration of new documents on redistribution of the land and so forth. The fact that there was insufficient land in the areas where they lived for all those who had a right to obtain free allotments and that a considerable number of landless and land-hungry peasants, not to mention indigent nomads, acquired no land at all was also reflected negatively in the implementation of the reform.

Naturally, the provision of Edict 8 on the alienation of land surpluses, the more so without compensation, could not have failed to have given rise to the sharp dissatisfaction of those in respect of whom this provision was applied, yet among them were not only big landowners and feudal lords but also religious figures, tribal leaders and elders and regular officers of the armed forces. The absence of a differentiated approach to the said categories of landowners, among whom, probably there were also those who could potentially have become allies of the revolutionary system, pushed some of them into the camp of counterrevolution. This mistake was rectified only after the new stage of the revolution had begun.

The enumerated difficulties and mistakes were made worse by direct violations of revolutionary legality and reprisals against some of the landowners, including middle peasants, carried out on the instructions of H. Amin and his followers. A flagrant violation of the population's rights, when national and historical traditions were ignored, was the attempt at the mass resettlement of landless peasants from some parts of the country to others and the provision of land for them there. The local inhabitants gave the settlers a hostile reception and drove them out. This practice greatly harmed solution of the national question in Afghanistan.

Following completion of the first stage of the agrarian reform, the position with respect to land tenure and land use, according to a preliminary appraisal, appeared thus: the allotments of almost all the landowners did not exceed the upper limit of 6 hectares, of first-category land determined by Edict 8. They accounted for more than 97 percent of the land, and only 2,000 families constituting approximately 0.01 percent of all landowners accounted for approximately 3 percent of cultivated land.⁹

A comparison of the data on land tenure and land use before and after the first stage of land reform shows the changes which had occurred in the socio-class structure of the countryside: a considerable increase in the numbers of the middle landowning and land-hungry peasantry. And this increase had occurred, furthermore, primarily thanks to an increase in the number of previously landless peasants who had acquired allotments. The remaining 2,000 families who retained tenure of land exceeding 6 hectares included the landowners from whom land surpluses had not been alienated for this

consideration or the other, in connection with the complex internal political situation included.

II

With the start of the new stage of the April revolution and the assumption of office of the healthy forces of the PDPA the party's agrarian policy was further developed in such program and legislative instruments as the PDPA Central Committee Theses for the Second Anniversary of the April Revolution and "Basic Principles of the DRA". These documents confirmed the party's policy of eliminating feudal and semifeudal vestiges in the countryside and continuing democratic agrarian transformations, primarily land reform. The development of agriculture on a modern basis by way of the expansion of peasant cooperation, and the creation of state livestock sections, machinery-tractor and seed-breeding stations and so forth was envisaged. Particular attention was paid to the need to render the peasants, mainly the land-hungry peasants who had acquired free allotments in the course of implementation of the reform, extensive assistance. Such assistance envisaged the granting of agricultural implements, high-grade seeds, chemical fertilizers, agents to combat pests and favorable credit.

In view of the complication of the internal political situation in the country which followed in the wake of the expansion of the scale of the undeclared war, the implementation of the reform in 1980 and in the first half of 1981 slowed down sharply in the country as a whole and practically came to a halt in many regions. In this period the main attention and efforts of the DRA leadership were aimed at consolidating the revolutionary forces, creating the National Fatherland Front, strengthening the unity of party ranks and mobilizing human and material resources for the armed struggle against external and internal counterrevolution and the solution of urgent political, social and economic problems, particularly rectification of the mistakes made in the past.

Forces hostile to the revolution hastened to take advantage of the slowing down of practical measures in respect of continuation of the land reform. Deftly manipulating the official criticism of the mistakes and oversights during implementation of the reform, counterrevolutionary propaganda began to instill in the peasants the idea that the land reform had been "canceled" and its results "annulled". The complex internal political situation and the direct threat to the revolutionary gains urgently demanded the organization of an emphatic repulse of the actions of counterrevolution and the creation of a broad social basis of the new power by way of the continuation of fundamental progressive socioeconomic transformations in the interests of the working people, particularly the working peasants. Peasant representatives were beginning to appeal to the party and state authorities increasingly often, demanding completion of the land reform.

On 20 June 1981 the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and the DRA Council of Ministers adopted the decree "Land Reform in the DRA," which should be regarded as an important document of the party's agrarian policy at the current stage. The decree emphasized: "...the PDPA proceeds in its agrarian policy from the fact that only by way of the liquidation of the feudal system is it possible to afford the production forces scope and ensure practices whereby the

peasant can directly enjoy the fruits of his labor and increase agricultural production."¹⁰ The document made a considered, objective appraisal of the results of the first stage of the land reform. Finally, which is particularly important, there was confirmation of the peasants' right to land--both those who had such prior to the revolution in the amounts subsequently determined by Edict 8 and those who obtained it free after the revolution.¹¹

The PDPA Central Committee and the DRA Government adopted a decision on continuation of implementation of the land reform in the country and outlined the main tasks and practical measures. Great significance for the prompt, competent settlement of questions which arise and supervision of the progress of the measures was attached to the formation of a joint committee of the PDPA Central Committee and the DRA Council of Ministers for continuation of the agrarian reform under the chairmanship of B. Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and chairman of the Revolutionary Council.¹²

For the purpose of rectifying the mistakes which had occurred at the first stage of the reform the DRA Revolutionary Council Presidium adopted on 9 August 1981 "Supplement 1 to Edict 8". The decree of 20 June and Supplement 1 of 9 August fully confirmed all the fundamental provisions of Edict 8 "Land" and other documents and legislative instruments of the first stage of the land reform. In accordance with Supplement 1, some groups of landowners' land surpluses are not liable to alienation. Cancellation of the confiscation of these surpluses depends on confirmation in respect of (vakufnaya) land and land belonging to religious figures on the part of the Main Administration for Religious Affairs; the holdings of tribal leaders and elders on the part of the Ministry for Nationalities and Tribal Affairs and the tribal Loya Jirga; and the holdings of persons who have organized large-scale mechanized production to the state on the part of the Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reform.¹³

Thus the decision on the confiscation or nonconfiscation of surplus areas is up to the state authorities, that is, ultimately the DRA Government, which will take into consideration primarily the loyalty of the said groups of landowners to the people's system and also the economic expediency of the breakup of large-scale farms and pursue a flexible policy on this question.

It should be noted that even at the first stage of the reform (vakufnaya) land was not, as a rule, alienated. Therefore the prohibition of the confiscation of this land contained in Supplement 1 enshrines de jure the de facto situation.

The supplement provides for payment to the said groups of landowners of cash compensation for land surpluses if they were alienated at the first stage of the reform (deferred payments over 20 years, beginning with the fifth year following the adoption of the supplement).¹⁴ This decision is aimed at rectifying the mistakes of the first stage of the revolution. The adoption of the supplement was made necessary primarily by the tasks ensuing from the existing internal political situation in the DRA and the party and government policy of resolute struggle against the counterrevolution, the enlistment of all patriotic strata and groups of the population on the side of the people's system and the establishment of civil peace in the country.

In December 1981 the DRA Revolutionary Council adopted the "Water" Law, and the government ratified the regulations "Water Use in Agriculture". The "Water" Law determines that "water is the common property of all the people and is protected by the state."¹⁵ Water use as such is free, although irrigation systems, the underground water-collecting galleries, boreholes, wells, water-storage basins, pumping installations and other water installations and apparatus may be in state, cooperative or private ownership and may be sold, purchased and leased. For use of the water installations and apparatus their owners have the right to collect from the consumers of the water a fee to compensate for expenditure on the maintenance of these installations and apparatus.

In September 1981 the PDPA Central Committee and DRA Council of Ministers commission ratified a program of practical measures for continuation of the reform. The main practical tasks at the present stage of continuation of the reform are: a detailed evaluation of the results of the first stage; ascertainment of the actual situation which has taken shape with respect to land tenure and land and water use, in the public sector included; rectification of the mistakes made at the first stage of the reform; settlement of disputes among the peasants on land and water issues; distribution to all landowners of the new uniform document on the right to land ownership within the limits determined by the law; and so forth.

Only upon completion of this work and in certain parts, possibly, also in parallel with it will redistribution of the land gradually and with regard for all factors, primarily on condition of the ascertainment of surplus or vacant land, be continued.¹⁶

The state's particular attention will be paid to rendering the poorest peasants the broadest possible financial and material-technical assistance, strengthening existing and creating new peasant supply-marketing, credit and, where the necessary conditions for this arise, production cooperatives and to irrigation construction and the organization of machinery-tractor stations.

Provincial coordinating commissions for continuation of the reform had been created in 12 of Afghanistan's 39 provinces and 50 operational groups for surveying and evaluating of the first stage of the land reform had been brought up to strength by the end of November 1981. Forms and instructions for these groups were prepared and approved, and the corresponding seminars and briefings were conducted with them. In November 1981 the operational groups began work in the provinces of Kabul, Qonduz, Badakhshan, Baghlan and Balkh.

The fundamental document which outlined the specific goals of the PDPA's agrarian policy at the current stage of the national-democratic revolution was the "Action Program"--the new party program adopted at a national conference in March 1982. "The policy of the party and the revolutionary power," the program says, "is aimed at giving the peasants land and water, helping them with credit and implements, improving the supply of commodities, facilitating the marketing of their own products, constantly improving the material situation and enhancing their general educational and cultural level."¹⁷ The "Water" Law and the "Use of Water in Agriculture" regulations came into force in January 1982, as a result of which the land reform became water-land reform.

In August 1982 the PDPA Central Committee adopted the decree "The Work of the Ministry of Agriculture and Land-Water Reform for Implementation of the New Stage of the Reform," and in September the same year measures were approved aimed at stimulating the activity of all agricultural authorities. During 1982 a sample survey of land use was conducted in 21 provinces. The data obtained show that of the 45,000 peasant farms, 39,500 farms or 88 percent already have official documents on the right to land ownership. Issuance to the landowners of documents on the right to land ownership is continuing. At the same time work is being performed on enlisting the peasant one-man managers in agricultural cooperatives. Some 300 peasant committees for water distribution had been created by the end of 1982.¹⁸ In 1981 the Agricultural Development Bank extended to the peasants favorable credit totaling 500 million afghanis, with which they acquired chemical fertilizer, agricultural implements, seeds and other commodities.¹⁹

III

The socioeconomic transformations in the DRA are being implemented in the difficult and tense situation of the revolutionary system's armed struggle against internal and foreign counterrevolution. The PDPA and the DRA Government proceed from the fact that it is essential to implement the socioeconomic transformations even under these conditions, setting feasible tasks here. One is persuaded of the soundness of this conclusion by the experience of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and, finally, by the quite recent experience and day-to-day practice of the emerging countries which have opted for a path of a socialist orientation.

Under the most complex conditions of the civil war the implementation of revolutionary transformations in political, socioeconomic and cultural life continued in Soviet Russia. The extension and intensification of the agrarian revolution were continued, in particular. Recalling this period in the life of Soviet Russia--that of the civil war and intervention--V.I. Lenin said in a speech at the Ninth All-Union Central Executive Committee Fourth Session on 31 October 1922: "...however difficult it has been for us to live these 5 years in continuous wars, we have not abandoned our concerns to ensure that the peasant obtain the greatest satisfaction from the land... The question of land, the question of the organization of the everyday life of the vast majority of the population--the peasant population--is for us fundamental."²⁰

Problems of the defense of the people's revolution and the implementation of socioeconomic transformations are not counterposed to one another but, on the contrary, are organically interconnected.

Tremendous significance--and this is graphically confirmed in Afghanistan--for the defense of the social revolution, in this case a national-democratic revolution, is attached to the international situation, the alignment of forces in the international arena and the all-around assistance and support of the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries.

Counterrevolution cannot counterpose to the PDPA's clear and consistent agrarian policy anything constructive which would correspond to the Afghan toiling

peasantry's cherished aspirations. The leaders of the armed bands being sent in from Pakistan and Iran, who conceal their antipopular activity with religious slogans, not shrinking from the direct distortion of Muslim rules and propositions here, are calling essentially for a return to the times and practices of the Muslim Middle Ages, which would long hold back the country's development in all spheres of its life, in the sphere of agriculture included. Endeavoring to turn back the country's history, the bands penetrating DRA territory from abroad are sowing death and destruction. They are murdering party activists and civil servants and teachers and agricultural and industrial specialists and dealing ruthlessly with the religious figures who have marched together with the revolution and the people. They are burning schools and medical establishments, ambushing motor transport on the roads, blowing up bridges and power lines and destroying peasant cooperatives and state livestock sections. Even according to very rough estimates, the damage done to the DRA national economy by the actions of counterrevolutionary bands amounts to approximately 35 billion afghanis.

But the socioeconomic and political transformations being implemented in Afghanistan are of an irreversible nature. They were brought about by the objective requirements of social development and correspond to the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people.

The "Action Program" and other new program and legislative documents adopted by the PDPA and the DRA Revolutionary Council and Government on the continuation of land-water reform reflect the party's agrarian policy at the current stage. The main task currently confronting the PDPA and the DRA Government in this sphere is patient, persevering and consistent work on implementation of the adopted decisions. It is on this that the success of the land-water reform and the PDPA's entire agrarian policy will ultimately depend. Each correct practical step to achieve the goals of the reform should contribute to the enlistment of the working peasants on the side of the April revolution and the further strengthening of the people's system. "Where directly and in practice it is a question of the fate of the land-water reform," B. Karmal said at the PDPA Central Committee 11th Plenum in March 1983, "we must with full force raise the voice of truth, the voice of the party."²¹

Implementation of socioeconomic transformations in the DRA, primarily the land-water reform, even under the complex conditions of the undeclared war against the revolutionary system, has led, despite all the mistakes and obstacles, to a fundamental change in the social-class structure of Afghan society. A most important result of the new regime's activity in the 5 years that it has been in existence was the liquidation of the landowners and feudal lords as a class. The number of land-hungry and middle peasants has increased considerably. The alignment of class forces has altered radically: the domination of the landowners, feudal lords and comprador bourgeoisie has been replaced by the power of the working people of Afghanistan, which is based on the broad National Fatherland Front, which unites "...all progressive, democratic and patriotic forces and sociopolitical organizations of the country under the leadership of the PDPA on the common platform of the building of a new, progressive, free and democratic society."²²

FOOTNOTES

1. Orchards, vineyards and irrigated fields producing two harvests a year.
2. "The PDPA's Agrarian Policy at the Stage of National-Democratic Revolution," Kabul, 1983, pp 13-14 (in Dari).
3. Fifty afghanis = \$1 (March 1981).
4. See PEASANTS DEFEND THE REVOLUTION, Kabul, 27 April 1982 (in Dari).
5. DRA Revolutionary Council Edict 8 "Land" of 30 November 1978. OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 413 (in Dari and Pushtu).
6. The Law Regulating Land Use, OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 438. Sections IV, V and VI, pp 13-21 (in Dari and Pushtu).
7. The Land Reform Law of 6 August 1975, p 38, OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 311, (in Dari and Pushtu).
8. "PDPA Central Committee Theses for the Second Anniversary of the April Revolution". HAQIQAI-E ENQELAB-E SAWR 17 April 1980; "Statistical Yearbook 1357 (1978/79)," Kabul, 1980, p 66.
9. "The PDPA's Agrarian Policy at the Stage of National-Democratic Revolution," Kabul, 1983, p 17 (in Dari).
10. ANIS 22 June 1981 (in Dari).
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. HEWAD 11 August 1981 (in Pushtu).
14. Ibid.
15. "Water" Law of 9 November 1981, articles 2, 6, 7, 8 OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 420 (in Dari and Pushtu).
16. See KABUL NEW TIMES 25 February 1982.
17. "PDPA Action Program," Kabul, March 1982, pp 15-16 (in Dari).
18. ANIS 26 December 1982 (in Dari).
19. See KABUL NEW TIMES 3 November 1982.
20. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 45, pp 247-248.
21. HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR 20 March 1983 (in Dari).

22. "Basic Principles of the DRA," 1980, pp 4-5 (in Dari).

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COLLECTION OF ESSAYS ON NEED FOR DISARMAMENT REVIEWED

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 6,
Jun 83 pp 141-142

[V. Petrovskiy review: "Command of the Times"]

[Text] In international policy there is now no more important task than to avert the growing threat of nuclear war and bring under control, halt and then turn back the arms race, primarily nuclear. This task is truly a command of the times. It ensues from an all-around analysis of contemporary development and is dictated by the interests of mankind's very survival. Such is the leitmotiv and main conclusion of the publication in question.*

"The use of nuclear means of warfare capable of hitting any points on our planet," Academician A.P Aleksandrov, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, points out, taking as a basis the entire sum of data on the possibilities and particularities of scientific-technical development, "will inevitably lead to a world catastrophe if mankind lacks the wisdom and will to renounce the use of nuclear weapons, reduce the stockpiles of all kinds thereof, observing equal security, and switch from a system of the solution of contentious issues between states by way of war to their solution by way of negotiation and cooperation--the sole way befitting those who count themselves as belonging to homo sapiens" (p 10).

Whereas a third world war, a nuclear war, would threaten man's very future, the book observes, the arms race is creating with each new twist of the spiral thereof increasingly new--and increasingly dangerous--impediments to economic and social development (p 42). Thus in our time peace and the progress of mankind are most closely interconnected, and most significant is the fact that the vanguard historical forces--world socialism and the communist, workers and liberation movements--are the most consistent and active in the championing of peace.

* "Mir i razorozheniye. Nauchnyye issledovaniya. 1982" [Peace and Disarmament. Scientific Research. 1982], Moscow, 1982, izdatel'stvo "Nauka," p 399.

To the voice of representatives of the technical and social sciences is added the authoritative testimony of the well-known specialist in the field of medicine, Academician Ye.I. Chazov: "A more menacing illness than a world nuclear war cannot be imagined. In order to guard our planet's population against it efforts must not be spared in preventive work and the creation of barriers in the way of nuclear war. It is essential to destroy nuclear weapons before they destroy people" (p 55).

The content of the collection confirms once again that on issues of vital importance to the human race the vital interests and cherished hopes of the multimillion-strong masses are expressed by the CPSU. At its 24th, 25th and 26th congresses it propounded a program of large-scale, realistic and practicable measures essential for deflecting from the peoples the threat of nuclear catastrophe. The book's authors, prominent Soviet scientists and party and state executives, show along what broad a front the struggle for realization of this program, particularly with reference to the complex and crucial period of the start of the 1980's, organized and directed by the CPSU, is being waged.

The articles of representatives of various religious schools and works of culture and art and the surveys of the activity and documents of Soviet and international public organizations in the sphere of peace and disarmament included in the collection help us gain an idea of the extensive, undivided support enjoyed among the Soviet people by the CPSU's Leninist foreign policy and its consonance with the sentiments of broad masses abroad. Familiarization with all this material leaves no doubt that in the USSR spiritual, intellectual and significant material resources are concentrated on the accomplishment of the most important task of preserving peace and securing the rights of the peoples, primarily their right to life. Soviet people are active participants in the world antiwar movement. A notable contribution to these efforts is being made by the Scientific Council for Study of the Problems of Peace and Disarmament. The collection is the second book of a series of fundamental publications by the council.

This activity, which is filled with responsibility for the fate of peace, makes a striking contrast with the efforts of the most aggressive part of the ruling circles of the United States and a number of its NATO allies which have been undertaken with particular zeal recently for fanning the slanderous myth of the "Soviet threat," spurring an atmosphere of hysterical anti-Sovietism and chauvinism, jacking up psychological warfare of unprecedented scale and intensity, defending the arms race, developing insane concepts and doctrines of waging a "limited," "protracted" or any other nuclear war and "justifying" and "substantiating" power politics. All this, as the book shows convincingly, is combined with the gamble of militarist and reactionary circles on an intensification of the arms race and their endeavor to achieve military superiority for the purpose of halting the course of history, erecting barriers in the way of the social renewal of the world and subordinating the development of events in the world to their will. Such a task is not feasible, but those who nurture it are capable of causing mankind tremendous, irreparable harm.

For this reason questions of war and peace attract as forcefully as could be the attention of the broadest public, which is becoming increasingly aware that the development of the international situation has entered a highly critical period. Having in nature and scale risen to a qualitatively new stage, the mass antiwar movement is becoming an increasingly influential factor of international life. This applies primarily to the countries of West Europe, where the protest against the new round of the nuclear arms race being imposed from across the ocean is growing (pp 119-128).

The collective work of Soviet experts in question arms the fighters for peace and disarmament with a scientifically substantiated and politically intelligible set of arguments. The collection is packed with figures and factual material confirming the existence of an approximate military balance in the modern world, which not only must not be upset but which is designed to serve as the basis for arms limitation, a consistent lowering of the level of military confrontation and movement toward real disarmament, the consolidation of strategic stability and the relaxation of tension.

The pivotal proposition in the authors' system of evidence is that under present conditions regarding thermonuclear war as a reasonable, permissible and virtually "legitimate" means of achieving political goals is criminal adventurism. It inevitably ensues from this that the burning task is not "rationalization of the irrational" but the achievement of accords lessening the threat of a nuclear conflict and renunciation of the use of force in international relations in general (p 106).

An intelligent alternative to detente does not exist. The question is merely whether the world proceeds along the path of a renunciation of the use of force and the path of disarmament and equal mutually profitable cooperation or whether it will be cast into the abyss of an uncontrollable arms race and the escalation of armed conflicts fraught with tragic consequences for mankind. In the situation that has taken shape it is important to prevent the imperialist from a position of strength policy superseding detente and the flywheel of the arms race gathering new speed. This task is within the powers of people of good will.

The material of the book is imbued with scientifically substantiated optimism and an awareness of the fact that as a result of the action of constructive factors in international affairs, primarily the persistent foreign policy efforts of the USSR and the entire socialist community, there is a practical possibility of halting the present dangerous development of events, turning them into a healthy channel, strengthening mutual trust and tackling the tasks of limiting and reducing the arsenals of weapons, particularly nuclear, one after the other.

The Soviet conception of disarmament, like the entire strategy of peace and peaceful coexistence, is free of illusions and abstract schemes, is profoundly substantiated scientifically and correctly reflects both the urgent requirements of world development and the actual feasibility of the measures which they dictate. According to this conception, disarmament is not a one-time action but a long-term, stage-by-stage process demanding, in V.I. Lenin's expression, "the greatest exertion of forces"* to surmount the resistance of militarist circles.

* V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 41, p 55.

A comprehensive analysis of the international situation and a quest for ways to realize the historical imperative of curbing the warmongers and mobilizing for the struggle for detente and disarmament all sober-minded people remains an urgent task of social life, to whose solution the publication in question contributes. There may be no doubt that subsequent editions of this series will, like the preceding ones, be important landmarks in the development of the theory of contemporary international relations from the standpoint of surmounting the difficulties and tension existing therein.

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KIM BOOK SEES FORMER COLONIES TENDING TOWARD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 6,
Jun 83 pp 147-149

[G. Mirskiy review: "Singularities of the Revolutionary Process in Asia and Africa"]

[Text] The monograph* of the well-known Soviet orientalist G.F. Kim, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is devoted to the most topical problems of the development of Asian and African countries following the collapse of the colonial system. The very title of the book gives an idea of the author's progress of thought: the national liberation revolution continues, it is not completed by the achievement of independence and its center of gravity shifts to the tasks of social liberation.

"Henceforward the anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian and African peoples," the work emphasizes, "will be spearheaded against the socioeconomic foundations and socio-class forces by reliance on which imperialism is endeavoring to maintain and, where possible, to extend even the exploitation of the peoples of the developing countries" (p 29).

Together with the struggle for the removal of inequality in the sphere of international economic relations and against dependence on world capital (which is manifested, in particular, in the movement for a new international economic order) the progressive forces of the emerging countries are endeavoring to do away with the domination of the classes and strata of their society which are interested in consolidating the structures of "subordinate, secondary" capitalism which objectively keep the young national states in a state of dependence on the international monopolies.

That is is precisely thus that the capitalism in Asia and Africa which the world imperialist "center" exploiting the "periphery" is attempting to implant and perpetuate appears is convincingly attested by the factual material adduced by the author, which enables him to draw the following conclusions:

* G.F. Kim, "Ot natsional'nogo osvobozhdeniya k sotsial'nomu. Sotsial'no-politicheskiye aspekty sovremennykh natsional'no-osvoboditel'nykh revolyutsiy" [From National to Social Liberation. Sociopolitical Aspects of Contemporary National Liberation Revolutions], Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka," 1982, p 296.

"first, capitalism in Afro-Asian countries merely adapts to the traditional structures, enters into an ugly and disproportionate coexistence with them and employs methods of primitive, rapacious exploitation in respect of them. Second, capitalism in the developing countries is in many instances secured merely by individual enclaves which are connected, for the most part, with the world capitalist 'center' and which are frequently foreign to the national economic system. Third, national capitalism in oriental countries preserves the permanent dependence on world capitalism and the transnational corporations and functions, furthermore, merely as an appendage of the international capitalist market" (p 8).

This capitalism is only barely reminiscent of the powerful and independent capitalism of the West of the era of its development and prosperity which arose impetuously and rapidly encompassed all spheres of the economy. G. Kim rightly observes that as a whole "the attempts to implant in the Afro-Asian world the classical capitalism of free competition according to the model of the premonopolist Europe of the last century have not been nor could they have been successful" (p 99). And the main reason for this failure is the backwardness--economic, technological and cultural--to whose preservation colonialism contributed and which (together with social and religious traditions not conducive to private enterprise) and which makes the development of capitalist production difficult. World capitalism, G. Kim states, "has proven its incapacity for creating the forms of production and social classes suitable to it" in Asia and Africa (p 115).

But the question may arise here: but is this in fact a serious failure for imperialism? Would we not be exaggerating in assuming that world capitalism's incapacity for "reproducing itself" in "classical" forms on Asian and African territory is for it only a negative factor? After all, it may be supposed that if the capitalism of the contemporary type had enjoyed a rapid development with a strong bourgeoisie as the driving and directing force in the emerging countries, the capitalist "centers" would have had to have experience far more difficulties with such a periphery than with the dependent, weak and nonself-sufficient capitalism. This is eloquently indicated if only by the example of India, which pursues an independent foreign and economic policy.

In just the same way, by no means indisputable is the proposition that the extensive propagation of the public sector of the economy in the developing countries proceeding along a capitalist path is in itself a manifest minus from the viewpoint of world capital. The soundness of such assertions might be doubted if it is considered that, first, a bureaucratic bourgeoisie grows up on the basis of the public sector with which in many respects it is easier for imperialism to deal than with the so-called national, that is, independent private entrepreneurial bourgeoisie (a bureaucracy does not see foreign capital as a competitor) and, second, that the development of the public sector proceeds hand in hand with the establishment of an authoritarian statist power which has more opportunities for keeping the workers, democratic and revolutionary movement "under its thumb" than the relatively liberal bourgeois-democratic power.

State rather than private economic capitalism appears in the eyes of the international monopolies as the system capable by power and tough methods of counteracting the growth of progressive, noncapitalist trends. This does not contradict the fact that a private sector is growing and strengthening "under the wing" of the state in many countries.

Highly probable for the countries of capitalist development in Asia and Africa as a whole is the "model" which G. Kim characterizes by the formula "state capitalism plus the private sector" (p 140) since the undivided domination of private-economic capitalism is hardly practicable in the foreseeable future even in the countries where, as the author writes, capitalist modernization "from above" is taking place together with bloc-forming with neocolonialism (p 136); it is well known that the public sector dominated in industry in the shah's Iran.

Thus in this aspect (correlation of state and private enterprise) the differences between the two versions of capitalist development mentioned by the author are not that great. It is not a question of the fact that in countries of a mass capitalism, in V.I. Lenin's words, which grows "from below" and which is "democratic"--it is thus that G. Kim characterizes countries of the "Indian version" (p 139)--the development of the public sector is of primary importance, and in countries of the "Iran-South Korea-Taiwan" type the private sector. Reality does not support such a conclusion. The point lies elsewhere: with the "mass-democratic" version of capitalist development bourgeois-democratic trends gather strength, and a relatively independent bourgeoisie as the leading class (relatively because the example of the same India shows how closely this bourgeoisie interacts with international capital) blazes a trail for itself. This trend is connected, as the author noted, "with the realization of bourgeois-democratic tasks of the national liberation revolution," whose accomplishment objectively clears "the way to national capitalism" (p 100).

As far as the shah's Iran or South Korea is concerned, a trend of the development of a neocomprador-type "dependent capitalism" and a trend of the conversion of the developing countries into "industrial-raw material appendages" of imperialism have manifested themselves distinctly there. An inalienable feature of this version is "Westernization" leading to the "implantation of modern production forces with the aid of neocolonialism" (p 136). Counteracting this "Westernization" was a principal cause of the Iranian revolution, but it is manifested in this form or other also in other Asian countries (to a lesser extent in Africa) developing along the path of capitalism.

A most important singularity of this counteraction are the attempts to return to a precapitalist social organization and to cultural-historical, including cultural-religious, tradition, which again was graphically demonstrated by the revolution in Iran.

Although it becomes the language of truly mass social protest, tradition, as G. Kim emphasizes, does not contain under the conditions of the modern world a program of positive transformations. "Becoming ideologized in the hands of conservative political forces, it could very quickly lose its emancipating,

anti-exploiter thrust and become an instrument of new oppression, which is consecrated by the new ideological sanction, but socially is no less, if not more, reactionary than the preceding domination" (p 139).

The book in question provides an idea of the complexity of the processes under way in the developing countries.

The author of the work is far from oversimplifications and understands that, despite all the significance of the common, determining regularities of development (which have already led to all the emerging countries opting in one way or another not for a "third way" but for capitalism or socialism), the developing world represents a specific social organism and that a whole number of the elements which form it submits only with great difficulty to reorganization in accordance with the requirements of contemporary social-economic structures. G. Kim emphasizes his disagreement with the opinion that "the development of the emerging countries has to copy the existing" capitalism or developed socialism (p 275).

Examining the paths of the revolutionary process in Asia and Africa, G. Kim distinguishes particularly the national-democratic revolution. In fact, life has shown the unsoundness of the identification within the framework of a single concept (whether this be the noncapitalist path or socialist orientation) of two nonidentical processes, two "models" of revolution. What is being done today in such countries as South Yemen, Angola and Ethiopia, where vanguard parties guided by the theory of scientific socialism are in power or are being established, testifies to the more radical (in the proletarian perspective) nature of the social-political system taking shape there than in the countries of a "first-generation" socialist orientation. In the first instance the author speaks of a people's-democratic revolution, rightly noting that this is a form of socialist revolution, and in the second merely of a national-democratic revolution (p 148).

The formula "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the people" with reference to the goal of a national-democratic revolution--in contrast to the dictatorship of the proletariat as the development trend of a people's-democratic revolution--is dubious, it is true. First, of what kind of "dictatorship of the people" can it be a question in countries where as a consequence of the limited nature and petty bourgeois-democratic character of the social transformations very broad scope has been afforded the development of private-ownership spontaneity and where new privileged strata are growing up? Second, it is theoretically wrong to foresee the transition of the dictatorship of the people into a dictatorship of the proletariat as the national-democratic grows into a people's-democratic revolution (ibid.) unless, of course, by the word "people" is understood a coalition incorporating together with the working people's masses also the petty bourgeoisie and "technobureaucracy," which was hardly the author's intention.

As a whole, it may be said that G. Kim's thoughtful, creative work is an indisputable contribution to the science studying the national liberation movement. It is useful not only for specialists but also for the broad public interested in the meaning of the tempestuous events occurring in the expanses of Asia and Africa.

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JAPANESE BOOK ON ROBOTICS REVIEWED

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[S. Yelekoyev review: "Automatic Manipulators Present and Future"]

[Text] The book in question, "Robots in the Japanese Economy," Tokyo, Survey Japan, 1981, pp XXI+256, is the first collective monograph on robot technology published in Japan in English. Well-known scientists from the country's major universities and specialists of the Credit Bank of Japan and the Survey Japan publishing firm were enlisted in work thereon.

The book sets forth the history of the creation and application of industrial robots (IR) in the Japanese economy, the trends in their production and certain aspects of the socioeconomic consequences of the introduction of robots and their impact on the structure of production and management in the customer-sectors. Basic questions of the sophistication of IR and the creation of second-generation robots and also the measures for stimulating R&D in this sphere being implemented by the state and the corporations are examined. A particular place is assigned technical-economic questions of the use of robots in medium and small firms (chapters 3 and 4).

Interest in the experience of the creation and use of IR in the economy of Japan--the country now undoubtedly occupying the leading positions in the world in this sphere of scientific-technical progress--is great. As a consequence of the general deterioration in the conditions of reproduction and the interweaving of the structural and cyclical crises on the eve and at the outset of the 1980's there has been an appreciable slowing of the growth rate of the economies of the developed capitalist countries, an exacerbation of inter-imperialist competition and an increase in social tension. The capitalist states and monopolies are seeking a way out of the difficulties which have been created primarily in a lowering of production costs and an acceleration of the labor productivity growth rate.

The automation of production and management processes serves to tackle these tasks. In turn, IR are an inalienable component of production automation and a factor of the transition from the "man-machine" system to the "man-robot-machine" system. In the opinion of the authors, for the creation of flexible production systems ensuring the economically profitable automated manufacture

of products in small consignments the combination of five basic equipment blocks is essential: machine tools with program control, IR, transporters and conveyors, automated storehouses and a controlling computer (p 47).

A number of Western economists believes that it is the extensive use of IR that has enabled Japan to achieve big successes in the sphere of passenger car and home radioelectronic equipment production, increase labor productivity and safety, improve the quality of the products and alleviate the problem of the shortage of skilled workers.

The most complex question in a critical analysis of the factual material adduced in a book on IR is the approach to the concept of IR. The point being that a precise definition of the latter does not yet exist. What is frequently meant is a mechanical arm with program control, supplied with a gripper and intended for the automation of the motor functions of the human hand in the production process (p 19). In the West European countries the list of mechanisms and machines called robots is considerably longer. Manual manipulators controlled by the human hand; cyclic and positional robots; robots with built-in microprocessors; and robots fitted with sensory transducers--so-called "intellectual" robots capable of independently evaluating changes in operating conditions and adapting to them--fall into the category of robots in Japan, however (in 1979 IR were included in the system of Japanese industrial standards) (p 14). The last three categories constitute robots proper in our concept.

Obviously, the absence of a generally recognized definition leads to considerable differences in the estimates of the volume and growth rate of the production of IR, the pool thereof and the indicators of the efficiency of their use and to a great degree of conditionality of intercountry comparisons. This factor remains in the background in the book in question, but it must be remembered constantly.

The first robots were imported into Japan from the United States in 1967, and in 1980 their manufacture in the country, according to the data of Japanese statistics, amounted to 19,000 units at an overall cost of 60 billion yen. The average annual rate of increase in the production of IR constituted approximately 40 percent in 1976-1980 (p 2). The scale of production that has been achieved made it possible to say that "1980 was the first year of the extensive introduction of IR in the economy" (p 21).

Unfortunately, the editors of the monograph did not deem it necessary to standardize the statistical basis of individual chapters, and for this reason the data on the production of intricate types of robots in 1980 adduced on page 132 differ very sharply from the data on page 100. But from all the tables it follows that simple manipulators and cyclic robots constitute 85-90 percent of the annual manufacture in terms of quantity and approximately 50 percent in terms of cost (p 14). It is expected that by the end of the 1980's IR production in Japan will have increased in terms of cost by a factor of 6-7 compared with 1980, and there will have been an increase in the proportion of intricate robots, furthermore. In the authors' estimate, the pool of IR installed in Japan amounted in 1980 to approximately 57,000 units (14,000

according to American estimates). The considerable distance between Japan and its main competitors (the United States, FRG and Sweden) both in terms of the production and the use of IR is not in doubt.

The interest in robots is warmed by their rapidly growing economic efficiency. Whereas in 1970 the cost of a comparatively simple and inexpensive cyclic robot exceeded the annual wages of the worker it replaced by a factor of 12, in 1975 it was by a factor of 5 and in 1978 by a factor of 3.7, which ensured its ability to pay for itself even in single-shift operation in only 4 years (not counting expenditure on power, maintenance and the restructuring of the organization and management of production). According to an estimate of Nissan company specialists, the productivity of a single robot even now constitutes on average 70 percent of that of the skilled worker (p 216). The reduction in the costs of electronic components is contributing to a stabilization of the price of intricate robots; which is increasing businessmen's incentives for introducing IR.

Among other socioeconomic factors testifying in favor of robots the authors cite the growth and diversification of production capacity, an increase in labor safety (injury and occupational illness affect up to 1 million workers in Japan annually) and product quality, an increase in the shift-work coefficient and so forth (p 38).

There is no doubt that the introduction of IR in production is attended by considerable capital outlays. However, the presence of robots makes it possible subsequently to reduce costs upon the transition to new product models and to maneuver production capacity more easily thanks to the changed shift-work coefficient.

The main customers for robots are Japan's processing industry sectors--they account for 98-99 percent of the IR pool. According to different estimates (and they differ from one another greatly owing to the indeterminate nature of the conception of IR), 50-65 percent of IR are installed in electrical engineering and automotive industry, 10 percent in the production of plastic products and up to 15 percent in general machine building and metal working. The remaining robots have found an application in textile, chemical and metallurgical industry and in shipbuilding. In the future we may expect an expansion of their use in nuclear power engineering, development of the ocean and in construction, transport and medicine (p 65). Robots are applied in the said sectors mainly in materials handling and transport operations (70 percent), welding operations (6 percent) and for applying coatings (2.2 percent).

More than 130 companies are engaged in the production of robots in Japan. It is interesting that the relative significance of the small (with employees numbering up to 50) and major (over 5,000 employees) firms in the total manufacture of IR is approximately identical: in 1979 some 24.8 and 23.3 percent respectively. The companies are as yet managing to avoid stiff competition thanks to narrow specialization (p 33). And although some of the biggest companies' share of the IR market is not more than 4 percent (in the United States the Unimachine and Cincinnati Milacron corporations control 35 percent of the IR market each), in the first dozen we see such

well-known Japanese monopolies as Kawasaki, Hitachi, Mitsubishi and Fuji. Inasmuch as the domestic IR market is far from saturation point, no more than 2-3 percent of their total production is exported (p 56).

The adoption in 1980 of a law stimulating the extensive use in the Japanese economy of machinery and equipment of high technical complexity, including equipment for gathering, transmitting and processing data, contributed to the development of robot building in Japan. In accordance with the law, it is authorized in the first year of service of intricate IR to write off to depreciation an additional 13 percent of their cost, with an average depreciation period of 6 years (pp 145-216). In addition, a program of stimulating the use of IR in small and medium-sized firms was then adopted. A mechanism for leasing robots was developed, and a network of rental companies was created for this purpose. Financing is undertaken by two state organizations: the Corporation for Financing Small Business and the People's Corporation and also the Small and Medium Company Modernization Fund. In the same year of 1980 the robot producers founded the Japanese IR Leasing Corporation, in whose financing such banks as the Japanese Development Bank, Credit Bank of Japan and Industrial Bank of Japan participate. The Japanese Association of IR Producers (JAIRP), which receives subsidies from the state Engineering Sector Stimulation Fund, operates in the country.

The adduced data testify to the state's increasing role in stimulating the development of a promising direction of scientific-technical progress and to interaction between the state and the corporations in the sphere of implementation of Japan's long-term industrial policy. These "partnership" relations between business and the state are also manifested in the R&D sphere.

From copying and imitating IR Japan rapidly switched to its own intensive R&D in the sphere of robot technology. Fundamental research is being performed in 85 universities and state laboratories, and applied research is concentrated mainly in the corporations, which allocate R&D considerable resources. A large part of the JAIRP budget goes to finance applied research.

IR are being perfected in the direction of an increase in their high-speed response, a reduction in weight and miniaturization, standardization of individual units and the creation of modules and a rise in the robots' "intellectual" level. There is reason to hope, the authors believe, that in the next 5 years second-generation robots intended to perform complex assembly and control operations will appear. But ahead there are still such difficulties as the creation of a standardized robot "language," their compatibility with other types of automated equipment, increased reliability and so forth.

As far as the social consequences of the extensive use of IR are concerned, as a whole the book paints a highly optimistic picture. As the authors assert, Japanese workers are not opposed to the introduction of robots, regarding them as a means of replacing live labor in monotonous and dangerous operations. Progress in robot technology, the monograph observes, is creating new jobs not only at enterprises of this sector but also thanks to the creation of

opportunities for enlisting in production women, pensioners and invalids who previously could not find jobs for observing the functioning of the robots. Here, of course, businessmen obtain a huge saving on wages, which, incidentally, the authors of the book do not mention. Nonetheless, the latter cannot fail to acknowledge that "the widespread use of IR in assembly operations could lead in the future to an increase in unemployment and an aggravation of social problems" (p 147). The more so in that robots will in the future be able to replace, in the opinion of American specialists, from 65 to 75 percent of production workers. For this reason the annual report of the General Council of Japan's Trade Unions, SOHIO, for 1981 says: "Evidently, a factor of Japan's successes in our microprocessor age is the traditional practice of 'life' employment and preservation of the 'seniority' system. However, as we advance along the path of technical progress, the existing labor relations could change" (p 220). We would note here that the level of unemployment in Japan is rising, while the "employment for life" system has become an impediment in the way of implementation of profound structural transformations in the country's economy.

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